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NARRATIVES *of the career of* HERNANDO DE SOTO

VOLUME II

Narratives of the career of

Hernando de Soto

in the Conquest of Florida,
as told by a Knight of Elvas
and in a relation by Luys
Hernandez de Biedma, fac-
tor of the Expedition

TRANSLATED BY BUCKINGHAM SMITH
together with an account of
DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

Based on the Diary of
RODRIGO RANJEL, his Private Secretary
translated from Oviedo's Historia General
y Natural de las Indias

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
Edward Gaylord Bourne
Professor of History in Yale University

ILLUSTRATED

IN TWO VOLUMES
Volume II

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* Originally published by the Bradford Club, 1866.

RELATION

OF THE

CONQUEST OF FLORIDA

PRESENTED BY

LUYS HERNANDEZ DE BIEDMA

IN THE YEAR 1544

TO THE

KING OF SPAIN IN COUNCIL

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL
DOCUMENT
BY BUCKINGHAM SMITH

ACCOUNT

OF

THE ISLAND OF FLORIDA[1]

We arrived at the port of Baya Honda, where we landed six hundred and twenty men and two hundred and twenty-three horses. As soon as we went on shore we found out, from some Indians taken, that there was a Christian in the country, one of the people who had come into it with Pánfilo de Narvaez, and we started in search of him. He was in the possession of a chief, some eight leagues distant from the harbour. We met him on the way, for the Cacique, hearing that we had left the ships, asked the Christian if it was his desire to go where we were; who answered that it was, and he sent him off with nine Indians. He came naked like them, with a

[1] The original text was first published by Buckingham Smith in his *Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentès*. Tomo I. London [1857]. 47-65. (B.)

bow and some arrows in his hands, his body wrought over like theirs. They who discovered the natives thought they were come to spy out the condition of our people, and dashed after them. The Indians fled towards a little wood near by, but the horsemen coming up with them, one Indian received a thrust from a lance, and the Christian, having nearly forgotten our language, himself would have been slain, had he not remembered to call upon the name of Our Lady, whereby he was recognized. We brought him with great rejoicing before the Governor.

Twelve years had passed since the Christian had come among the Indians. He knew their tongue, and, from the long habit of speaking that only, he was more than four days among us before he could connect an idea without putting to every word of Spanish four or five words of Indian, though he came after a while to recover our speech entirely. His knowledge of the country was so limited that he could tell us of nothing twenty leagues off, neither from having seen it nor by hearsay; however, from first seeing us, he said there was no place at which to find gold.

We left Baya Honda to explore inland, taking with us all the people that had come on shore excepting twenty-six cavalry and

sixty infantry left in charge of the port until the Governor should be heard from, or should send orders for them to join him. We took our way towards the west, then turned to the northwest, having information of a Cacique named Hurripacuxi, who lived about twenty leagues from the coast, to whom the Indians said they all paid tribute. Thence we went, through swamps and over rivers, fifteen or twenty leagues, to a town which the Indians represented to us as very wonderful, and where the inhabitants, by shouting, caused birds on the wing to drop. On arrival there we found it to be a small town, called Etocale. We got some maize, beans, and little dogs, which were no small relief to people who came perishing with hunger. We remained seven or eight days, and in that time made several forays, to catch Indians for guides to the Province of Apalache, which had great fame wheresoever we went. Three or four men were taken, of whom the best informed knew nothing of the country two leagues in advance. We went on still in the direction of New Spain, keeping some ten or twelve leagues from the coast.

In four or five days' march we passed through several towns, and came to a moderately large one, called Aguacalecuen. The inhabitants were all found to have gone off

affrighted into the woods. We remained six or seven days, to hunt some Indians for guides, and while engaged in the search we caught ten or twelve women, one of whom was declared to be the daughter of the Cacique. The consequence was, that her father came to us in peace. He promised we should have interpreters and guides; but, as he did not give them, we had to take him along with us. With the intent of wresting him from us, at the close of six or seven days' march there came upon us about three hundred and fifty warriors, with bows and arrows, of whom we killed some and captured the remainder. Among them were Indians who had knowledge of the country farther inland, yet they told us very false stories.

We crossed another river, in a Province called Veachile, and found towns on the farther bank which the inhabitants had left, though we did not fail, in consequence, to find some food in them, which we needed. We set out for another town, named Aguile, which is on the confines of Apalache, a river dividing the one from the other province. Across this stream we made a bridge, by lashing many pines together, upon which we went over with much danger, as there were Indians on the opposite side who disputed our passage; when they found, however, that we had

landed, they went to the nearest town, called Ivitachuco, and there remained until we came in sight, when as we appeared they set all the place on fire and took to flight.

There are many towns in this Province of Apalache, and it is a land abundant in subsistence. They call all that other country we were travelling through, the Province of Yustaga.

We went to another town, called Iniahico. There it appeared to us to be time we should know of those who remained at the port, and that they should hear from us; for we proposed to travel so far inland that we might not be able to hear of them again. The distance we had now marched from them was one hundred and ten leagues, and the Governor gave orders that they should come to where we then were.

From that town we went to look for the sea, which was about nine leagues off, and we found, on the shore, where Pánfilo de Narvaez had built his boats. We found the spot whereon the forge had stood, and many bones of horses. The Indians told us, through the interpreter, what others like us there had done. Juan de Añasco put signals on some trees standing near the water, because he was commanded to return to the port, and bid the people there come on by the way we had

marched, while he should sail in the two brigantines and the boat that were left, and we would await his arrival, at the Province of Apalache.

Juan de Añasco sent the people on by land, while he came by sea, as the Governor had ordered, encountering much fatigue and danger; for he could not find the coast he had observed from the land before leaving, discovering no marks whatsoever from the sea, as these were in shallow inlets, that with the rise of tide had water in them, and with the ebb were bare. We made a piragua, which went out every day two leagues to sea, looking for the brigantines, to show them where to stop. I was thankful when the people arrived, not less for those that came by land than those by water.

On the arrival of the brigantines, the Governor directed that they should sail westwardly to discover a harbour, if one were near, whence to ascertain, by exploring the coast, if any thing could be found inland. Francisco Maldonado, a gentleman of Salamanca, had the command. He coasted along the country, and entered all the coves, creeks, and rivers he discovered, until he arrived at a river having a good entrance and harbour, with an Indian town on the seaboard. Some inhabitants approaching to traffic, he took one

of them, and directly turned back with him to join us. On this voyage he was absent two months, which appeared to us all to be a thousand years, inasmuch as it detained us so long from advancing to what we understood was to be found in the interior.

After Maldonado got back, the Governor told him, that, as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, where the Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, his wife, remained; and if within six months' time he should hear nothing of us, to come with the brigantines, and run the shore as far as the River Espiritu Santo, to which we should have to resort. The vessels went to the Island, and we took our way again northward, going to seek after what the Indians had told us of.

We marched five days through an uninhabited country, when, coming to a great river, as we could not build a bridge over it, because of the stiffness of the current, we made a piragua. With this we reached the opposite shore, where we found a Province called Acapachiqui, very abundant in the food to which the Indians are accustomed. We saw some towns, and others there were we did not visit, because the country was one of very large swamps. There was a change in the

habitations, which were now in the earth, like caves: heretofore they were covered with palm-leaves and with grass. We continued on, and came to two other rivers, over which we had to make bridges, in our usual manner, by tying pine-trees together. Arrived at another Province, called Otoa, we found a town rather larger than any we had seen to that time. We went thence to towns of another province, which may be about two days' march distant, where we took some persons not on the look-out, they never having heard of us. The people agreed to come and serve us peacefully for the return of the captives, whom the Governor gave up, keeping only a part as interpreters and guides, for the use of the way.

We were five or six days going through this Province, called Chisi, where we were well supplied by the Indians from their slender stores; and having marched three days more without seeing any large town, we came to the Province of Altapaha. Here we found a river that had a course not southwardly, like the rest we had passed, but eastward to the sea, where the Licentiate, Lucas de Ayllón, had come; whence we gave still more credit to what the Indian said, and we came to believe as true all the stories that he had told us. This province was thickly peopled, and the inhabitants all desired to serve us. The

Governor inquired of them for that province, Cofitachyque, of which we came in pursuit; they said it was not possible to go thither, there being no road, and on the journey we should famish, there being no food. We went on to other caciques, of the names Ocuti and Cafaqui, who gave us of what they had to eat. They said if we were going to make war on the Lady of Cofitachique, they would give us all we should desire for the way; but we should understand there was no road over which to pass; that they had no intercourse, because of their enmity, except when they made war upon each other, which was carried on through obscure and intricate parts, out of which no one would be expected to issue, and that they were on the journey from twenty to twenty-two days, eating in the time only plants and the parched maize they took with them. Seeing our determination, they gave us eight hundred Indians to carry our loads of clothing and provisions, and also others as guides.

We were taken directly to the eastward, and thus travelled three days. The Indian who deceitfully led us had said, that he would place us whither we were going in that time; and notwithstanding, towards the close, we began to discover his perfidy, the Governor did not desist from the course, but commanded

that we should husband our provisions as much as possible, since he suspected we should find ourselves—which did actually come to pass—in embarrassment and want. We went on through this wilderness, and at the end of thirteen days arrived at some cottages. The Indians had now become so bewildered, that they knew not in what direction to turn. The road had given out, and the Governor went around to regain it, but, failing to find it, he came back to us desperate. He directed that the people should return some half a league to a great river, and there he began to give out rations of fresh pork from the hogs we drive with us, a pound to each man, which we ate boiled, without salt or other seasoning.

The Governor sent in two directions to find a path, or any mark indicating inhabitants—one person up the river to the north and northeast, and the other down along it to the south and southeast, and he allowed to each ten days in which to go and return. He that went to the south and southeastward came in, after being gone four days, with the news that he had come upon a little town having some provisions. He brought three or four people from it, who, speaking with our perfidious Indian, he understood them. This was no little relief to us, because of the difficulty

there is everywhere in the country of being understood; and once more the guide repeated the falsehoods he had before told us, which we believed, because we heard him talk the language with those Indians. We directly set out, with all our people, for that little village, to await there the return of those who had gone in other directions to seek for paths. We tarried four or five days, until all had come together. About fifty hanegas of maize were found in the place, and some parched meal; there were many mulberry-trees loaded with fruit, and likewise some other small fruits.

Thence we set out for the town of Cofitachique, two days' journey from the village, seated on the banks of a river, which we believed to be the Santa Elena, where the Licentiate Ayllón had been. Having arrived at the stream, the Lady of this town sent to us her niece, borne in a litter, the Indians showing her much respect, with the message that she was pleased we had arrived in her territory, and that she would give us all she could or might possess. She likewise sent the Governor a necklace of five or six strings of pearls. We were furnished with canoes in which to pass over the river, and the Lady gave us one-half of the town; but after staying three or four days, she suddenly went off into the woods. The Governor caused her to be

sought, and not finding her, he opened a mosque, in which were interred the bodies of the chief personages of that country. We took from it a quantity of pearls, of the weight of as many as six arrobas and a half, or seven, though they were injured from lying in the earth, and in the adipose substance of the dead. We found buried two wood axes, of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, such as are taken from this country to traffic with the Indians, all of which we supposed they got in exchange, made with those who followed the Licentiate Ayllón. From the information given by the Indians, the sea should be about thirty leagues distant. We knew that the people who came with Ayllón hardly entered the country at all; that they remained continually on the coast, until his sickness and death. In strife for command, they then commenced to kill each other, while others of them died of hunger; for one, whose lot it was to have been among them, told us that of six hundred men who landed, only fifty-seven escaped—a loss caused, to a great extent, by the wreck of a big ship they had brought, laden with stores. Having remained in the town of this Lady some ten or eleven days, it became necessary that we should go thence in quest of a country which might furnish food, as the quantity where we were was

sufficient only for the necessities of the Indians, and we, our horses and followers, consumed it very fast.

Again we took the direction of the north, and for eight days we travelled through a poor country, scarce of food, until arriving at one called Xuala, where we still found some Indian houses, though a thin population, for the country was broken. Among these ridges we discovered the source of the great river whence we had taken our departure, believed to be the Espiritu Santo. We went on to a town called Guasuli, where the inhabitants gave us a number of dogs, and some maize, of which they had but little. From there we marched four days, and arrived at a town called Chiha, which is very plentiful in food. It is secluded on an island of this river of Espiritu Santo, which, all the way from the place of its rise, forms very large islands. In this province, where we began to find the towns set about with fence, the Indians get a large quantity of oil from walnuts. We were detained twenty-six or twenty-seven days to refresh the horses, which arrived greatly fatigued, having worked hard and eaten little.

We left, following along the banks of the river, and came to another province, called Costehe, the towns of which are likewise on islands in the river, and thence we went to

Coça, one of the finest countries we discovered in Florida. The Cacique came out in a hurdle to receive us, with great festivity and many people, he having numerous towns subject to him. The next morning we saw all the inhabitants, and having detained the Cacique, that he might give us persons to carry our loads, we tarried some days until we could get them. We found plums like those here in Castile, and great quantities of vines, on which were very good grapes. From this we went to the west and southwest, passing through the towns of the Cacique for five or six days, until we came to another province, called Italisi. The people being gone, we went to look for them. Some Indians came to us, by whom the Governor sent to call the Cacique, who, coming, brought to us a present of twenty-six or twenty-seven women, skins of deer, and whatever else they had.

From this point we went south, drawing towards the coast of New Spain, and passed through several towns, before coming to another province, called Taszaluza, of which an Indian of such size was chief that we all considered him a giant. He awaited us quietly at his town, and on our arrival we made much ado for him, with joust at reeds, and great running of horses, although he appeared to regard it all as small matter. After-

ward we asked him for Indians to carry our burdens; he answered that he was not accustomed to serving any one, but it was rather for others all to serve *him*. The Governor ordered that he should not be allowed to return to his house, but be kept where he was. This detention among us he felt—whence sprang the ruin that he afterwards wrought us, and it was why he told us that he could there give us nothing, and that we must go to another town of his, called Mavila, where he would bestow on us whatever we might ask. We took up our march in that direction, and came to a river, a copious flood, which we considered to be that which empties into the Bay of Chuse. Here we got news of the manner in which the boats of Narvaez had arrived in want of water, and of a Christian, named Don Teodoro, who had stopped among these Indians, with a negro, and we were shown a dagger that he had worn. We were here two days, making rafts for crossing the river. In this time the Indians killed one of the guard of the Governor, who thereupon, being angry, threatened the Cacique, and told him that he should burn him if he did not give up to him those who had slain the Christian. He replied that he would deliver them to us in that town of his, Mavila. The Cacique had many in attendance. An Indian was always behind him with a fly-

brush of plumes, so large as to afford his person shelter from the sun.

At nine o'clock, one morning, we arrived at Mavila, a small town very strongly stockaded, situated on a plain. We found the Indians had demolished some habitations about it, to present a clear field. A number of the chiefs came out to receive us as soon as we were in sight, and they asked the Governor, through the interpreter, if he would like to stop on that plain, or preferred to enter the town, and said that in the evening they would give us the Indians to carry burdens. It appeared to our Chief better to go thither with them, and he commanded that all should enter the town, which we did.

Having come within the enclosure, we walked about, talking with the Indians, supposing them to be friendly, there being not over three or four hundred in sight, though full five thousand were in the town, whom we did not see, nor did they show themselves at all. Apparently rejoicing, they began their customary songs and dances; and some fifteen or twenty women having performed before us a little while, for dissimulation, the Cacique got up and withdrew into one of the houses. The Governor sent to tell him that he must come out, to which he answered that he would not; and the Captain of the body-

guard entered the door to bring him forth, but seeing many Indians present, fully prepared for battle, he thought it best to withdraw and leave him. He reported that the houses were filled with men, ready with bows and arrows, bent on some mischief. The Governor called to an Indian passing by, who also refusing to come, a gentleman near took him by the arm to bring him, when, receiving a push, such as to make him let go his hold, he drew his sword and dealt a stroke in return that cleaved away an arm.

With the blow they all began to shoot arrows at us, some from within the houses, through the many loopholes they had arranged, and some from without. As we were so wholly unprepared, having considered ourselves on a footing of peace, we were obliged, from the great injuries we were sustaining, to flee from the town, leaving behind all that the carriers had brought for us, as they had there set down their burdens. When the Indians saw that we had gone out, they closed the gates, and beating their drums, they raised flags, with great shouting; then, emptying our knapsacks and bundles, showed up above the palisades all we had brought, as much as to say that they had those things in possession. Directly as we retired, we bestrode our horses and completely encircled the town, that none might thence

anywhere escape. The Governor directed that sixty of us should dismount, and that eighty of the best accoutred should form in four parties, to assail the place on as many sides, and the first of us getting in should set fire to the houses, that no more harm should come to us: so we handed over our horses to other soldiers who were not in armour, that if any of the Indians should come running out of the town they might overtake them.

We entered the town and set it on fire, whereby a number of Indians were burned, and all that we had was consumed, so that there remained not a thing. We fought that day until nightfall, without a single Indian having surrendered to us—they fighting bravely on like lions. We killed them all, either with fire or the sword, or, such of them as came out, with the lance, so that when it was nearly dark there remained only three alive; and these, taking the women that had been brought to dance, placed the twenty in front, who, crossing their hands, made signs to us that we should come for them. The Christians advancing toward the women, these turned aside, and the three men behind them shot their arrows at us, when we killed two of them. The last Indian, not to surrender, climbed a tree that was in the fence, and

taking the cord from his bow, tied it about his neck, and from a limb hanged himself.

This day the Indians slew more than twenty of our men, and those of us who escaped only hurt were two hundred and fifty, bearing upon our bodies seven hundred and sixty injuries from their shafts. At night we dressed our wounds with the fat of the dead Indians, as there was no medicine left, all that belonged to us having been burned. We tarried twenty-seven or twenty-eight days to take care of ourselves, and God be praised that we were all relieved. The women were divided as servants among those who were suffering most. We learned from the Indians that we were as many as forty leagues from the sea. It was much the desire that the Governor should go to the coast, for we had tidings of the brigantines; but he dared not venture thither, as it was already the middle of November, the season very cold; and he found it necessary to go in quest of a country where subsistence might be had for the winter; here there was none, the region being one of little food.

We resumed our direction to the northward, and travelled ten or twelve days, suffering greatly from the cold and rain, in which we marched afoot, until arriving at a fertile province, plentiful in provisions, where we could stop during the rigour of the season. The

snows fall more heavily there than they do in Castile. Having reached the Province of Chicaza, the warriors came out to interrupt the passage of a river we had to cross. We were detained by them three days. Finally, we went over in a piragua we built, when the Indians fled to the woods. After seven or eight days, messengers from the Cacique arrived, saying that he and all his people desired to come and serve us. The Governor received the message well, and sent word to him to do so without fail, and that he would present him with many of the things he brought. The Cacique came, having with him a number of persons, who bore him upon their shoulders. He gave us some deer-skins and little dogs. The people returned, and every day Indians came and went, bringing us many hares, and whatever else the country supplied.

In the night-time we captured some Indians, who, on a footing of peace, came to observe how we slept and guarded. We, unaware of the perfidy that was intended, told the Cacique that we desired the next day to continue our march, when he left, and that night fell upon us. As the enemy knew whereabout our sentinels were set, they got amongst us into the town, without being observed, by twos and fours, more than three hundred men, with

fire which they brought in little pots, not to be seen. When the sentinels discovered that more were coming in troop, they beat to arms; but this was not done until the others had already set fire to the town. The Indians did us very great injury, killing fifty-seven horses, more than three hundred hogs, and thirteen or fourteen men; and it was a great mysterious providence of God, that, though we were not resisting them, nor giving them any cause to do so, they turned and fled; had they followed us up, not a man of all our number could have escaped. Directly we moved to a cottage about a mile off.

We knew that the Indians had agreed to return upon us that night; but, God be praised, in consequence of a light rain, they did not come; for we were in so bad condition, that, although some horses still remained, we had no saddles, lances, nor targets, all having been consumed. We hastened to make them, the best we could with the means at hand; and at the end of five days, the Indians, coming back upon us with their squadrons in order, attacked us with much concert at three points. As we were prepared, and, moreover, aware of their approach, we met them at the onset, beat them back, and did them some injury; so that, thank God, they returned no more. We remained here perhaps two months, get-

ting ready what were necessary of saddles, lances, and targets, and then left, taking the direction to the northwest, toward a Province called Alibamo.

At this time befell us what is said never to have occurred in the Indias. In the highway over which we had to pass, without there being either women to protect or provisions to secure, and only to try our valour with theirs, the Indians put up a very strong stockade directly across the road, about three hundred of them standing behind it, resolute to die rather than give back. So soon as they observed our approach, some came out to shoot their arrows, threatening that not one of us should remain alive. When we had surveyed that work, thus defended by men, we supposed they guarded something—provision perhaps—of which we stood greatly in need; for we had calculated to cross a desert of twelve days' journey in its extent, where we could have nothing to eat but what we carried. We alighted, some forty or fifty men, and put ourselves on two sides, arranging that at the sound of the trumpet we should all enter the barricade at one time. We did accordingly, carrying it, although at some cost, losing on our side seven or eight men, and having twenty-five or twenty-six more wounded. We killed some Indians, and took others, from

whom we learned that they had done this to measure themselves with us, and nothing else. We looked about for food, although at great hazard, that we might begin our journey in the wilderness.

We travelled eight days with great care, in tenderness of the wounded and the sick we carried. One mid-day we came upon a town called Quizquiz, and so suddenly to the inhabitants, that they were without any notice of us, the men being away at work in the maize-fields. We took more than three hundred women, and the few skins and shawls they had in their houses. There we first found a little walnut of the country, which is much better than that here in Spain. The town was near the banks of the River Espiritu Santo. They told us that it was, with many towns about there, tributary to a lord of Pacaha, famed throughout all the land. When the men heard that we had taken their women, they came to us peacefully, requesting the Governor to restore them. He did so, and asked them for canoes in which to pass that great river. These they promised, but never gave; on the contrary, they collected to give us battle, coming in sight of the town where we were; but in the end, not venturing to make an attack, they turned and retired.

We left that place and went to encamp by

the riverside, to put ourselves in order for crossing. On the other shore we saw numbers of people collected to oppose our landing, who had many canoes. We set about building four large piraguas, each capable of taking sixty or seventy men and five or six horses. We were engaged in the work twenty-seven or twenty-eight days. During this time, the Indians every day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, would get into two hundred and fifty very large canoes they had, well shielded, and come near the shore on which we were; with loud cries they would exhaust their arrows upon us, and then return to the other bank. After they saw that our boats were at the point of readiness for crossing, they all went off, leaving the passage free. We crossed the river in concert, it being nearly a league in width, and nineteen or twenty fathoms deep. We found some good towns on the other side; and once more following up the stream, on the way to that Province of Pacaha, we came first to the province of another lord, called Icasqui, against whom he waged severe war. The Cacique came out peacefully to meet us, saying that he had heard of us for a long time, and that he knew we were men from heaven, whom their arrows could not harm; wherefore, he desired to have no strife, and wished only to serve us. The Governor received him

very kindly, and permitting no one to enter the town, to avoid doing mischief, we encamped in sight, on a plain, where we lay two days.

On the day of our arrival, the Cacique said that inasmuch as he knew the Governor to be a man from the sky, who must necessarily have to go away, he besought him to leave a sign, of which he might ask support in his wars, and his people call upon for rain, of which their fields had great need, as their children were dying of hunger. The Governor commanded that a very tall cross be made of two pines, and told him to return the next day, when he would give him the sign from heaven for which he asked; but that the Chief must believe nothing could be needed if he had a true faith in the cross. He returned the next day, complaining much because we so long delayed giving him the sign he asked, and he had good-will to serve and follow us. Thereupon he set up a loud wailing because the compliance was not immediate, which caused us all to weep, witnessing such devotion and earnestness in his entreaties. The Governor told him to bring all his people back in the evening, and that we would go with them to his town and take thither the sign he had asked. He came in the afternoon with them, and we went in procession to the town, while they followed us. Arriving there, as it

is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon, we set up the cross on the summit of a mount, and we all went on bended knees, with great humility, to kiss the foot of that cross. The Indians did the same as they saw us do, nor more nor less; then directly they brought a great quantity of cane, making a fence about it; and we returned that night to our camp.

In the morning, we took up our course for Pacaha, which was by the river upward. We travelled two days, and then discovered the town on a plain, well fenced about, and surrounded by a water-ditch made by hand. Hastening on as fast as possible, we came near and halted, not daring to enter there; but going about on one side and the other, and discovering that many people were escaping, we assailed and entered the town, meeting no opposition. We took only a few people, for nearly all had fled, without, however, being able to carry off the little they possessed. While we yet halted in sight of the town, before venturing to enter it, we saw coming behind us a large body of Indians, whom we supposed to be advancing to the assistance of the place; but going to meet them, we found they were those we had left behind, among whom we had raised the cross, and were fol-

lowing to lend us their succour, should we need any. We took the Cacique to the town, where he gave the Governor many thanks for the sign we had left him, telling us the rain had fallen heavily in his country the day before, and his people were so glad of it that they wished to follow and not leave us. The Governor put him into the town, and gave him every thing found there, which was great riches for those people—some beads made of sea-snails, the skins of cats and of deer, and a little maize. He returned home with them, much gratified. We remained in this town twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, to discover if we could take a path to the northward, whereby to come out on the South Sea.

Some incursions were made to capture Indians who might give us the information; particularly was one undertaken to the northwest, where we were told there were large settlements, through which we might go. We went in that direction eight days, through a wilderness which had large pondy swamps, where we did not find even trees, and only some wide plains, on which grew a plant so rank and high, that even on horseback we could not break our way through. Finally, we came to some collections of huts, covered with rush sewed together. When the owner of one moves away, he will roll up the entire

covering, and carry it, the wife taking the frame of poles over which it is stretched; these they take down and put up so readily, that though they should move anew every hour, they conveniently enough carry their house on their backs. We learned from this people that there were some hamlets of the sort about the country, the inhabitants of which employed themselves in finding places for their dwellings wherever many deer were accustomed to range, and a swamp where were many fish; and that when they had frightened the game and the fish from one place, so that they took them there not so easily as at first, they would all move off with their dwellings for some other part, where the animals were not yet shy. This Province, called Caluç, had a people who care little to plant, finding support in meat and fish.

We returned to Pacaha, where the Governor had remained, and found that the Cacique had come in peacefully, living with him in the town. In this time arrived the Cacique from the place behind, at which we had put up the cross. The efforts of these two chiefs, who were enemies, each to place himself on the right hand when the Governor commanded that they should sit at his sides, was a sight worth witnessing.

Finding that there was no way by which

to march to the other sea, we returned towards the south, and went with the Cacique to where was the cross, and thence took the direction to the southwest, to another Province called Quiquate. This was the largest town we found in Florida, and was on an arm of the Rio Grande. We remained there eight or nine days, to find guides and interpreters, still with the intention of coming out, if possible, on the other sea; for the Indians told us that eleven days' travel thence was a province where they subsisted on certain cattle, and there we could find interpreters for the whole distance to that sea.

We departed with guides for the Province called Coligua, without any road, going at night to the swamps, where we drank from the hand and found abundance of fish. We went over much even country and other of broken hills, coming straight upon the town, as much so as if we had been taken thither by a royal highway, instead of which not a man in all time had passed there before. The land is very plentiful of subsistence, and we found a large quantity of dressed cows' tails, and others already cured. We inquired of the inhabitants for a path in the direction we held, or a town on it, near or far. They could give us no sort of information, only that if we wished to go in the direction where there were

people, we should have to return upon a west-southwestern course.

We continued to pursue the course chosen by our guides, and went to some scattered settlements called Tatil Coya. Here we found a copious river, which we afterwards discovered empties into the Rio Grande, and we were told that up the stream was a great Province, called Cayas. We went thither, and found it to be a population that, though large, was entirely scattered. It is a very rough country of hills. Several incursions were made; in one of which the Cacique and a large number of people were taken. On asking him about the particulars of the country, he told us that in following up the river we should come upon a fertile Province, called Tula. The Governor, desiring to visit there, to see if it were a place in which he could winter the people, set off with twenty men on horseback, leaving the remainder in the Province at Cayas.

Before coming to the Province of Tula, we passed over some rough hills, and arrived at the town before the inhabitants had any notice of us. In attempting to seize some Indians, they began to yell and show us battle. They wounded of ours that day seven or eight men, and nine or ten horses; and such was their courage, that they came upon us in packs, by eights and tens, like worried dogs. We killed

some thirty or forty of them. The Governor thought it not well to stay there that night with his small force, and returned on the way we had come, going through a bad passage of the ridge, where it was feared the natives would beset us, to a plain in a vale made by the river. The next day we got back to where the people lay; but there were no Indians of ours, nor could any in the province be found, to speak the language of these we brought.

Orders were given that all should make ready to go to that province. We marched thither at once. The next morning after our arrival, at daybreak, three very large squadrons of Indians came upon us by as many directions: we met them and beat them, doing some injury, so much that they returned upon us no more. In two or three days they sent us messengers of peace, although we did not understand a thing they said, for want of an interpreter. By signs we told them to bring persons in there who could understand the people living back of us; and they brought five or six Indians who understood the interpreters we had. They asked who we were, and of what we were in search. We asked them for some great provinces where there should be much provision (for the cold of winter had begun to threaten us sharply), and they said that on the route we were taking they knew

of no great town; but they pointed, that if we wished to return to the east and south-east, or go northwest, we should find large towns.

Discovering that we could not prevail against the difficulty, we returned to the south-east, and went to a Province that is called Quipana, at the base of some very steep ridges; whence we journeyed in a direction to the east, and, having crossed those mountains, went down upon some plains, where we found a population suited to our purpose, for there was a town nigh in which was much food, seated by a copious river emptying into the Rio Grande, from whence we came. The Province was called Viranque. We stopped in it to pass the winter. There was so much snow and cold, we thought to have perished. At this town the Christian died whom we had found in the country belonging to the people of Narvaez, and who was our interpreter. We went out thence in the beginning of March, when it appeared to us that the severity of the winter had passed; and we followed down the course of this river, whereon we found other provinces well peopled, having a quantity of food, to a Province called Anicoyanque, which appeared to us to be one of the best we had found in all the country. Here another Cacique, called Guachoyanque,

came to us in peace. His town is upon the River Grande, and he is in continual war with the other chief with whom we were.

The Governor directly set out for the town of Guachoyanque, and took its Cacique with him. The town was good, well and strongly fenced. It contained little provision, the Indians having carried that off. Here the Governor, having before determined, if he should find the sea, to build brigantines by which to make it known in Cuba that we were alive, whence we might be supplied with some horses and things of which we stood in need, sent a Captain in the direction south, to see if some road could be discovered by which we might go to look for the sea; because, from the account given by the Indians, nothing could be learned of it; and he got back, reporting that he found no road, nor any way by which to pass the great bogs that extend out from the Rio Grande. The Governor, at seeing himself thus surrounded, and nothing coming about according to his expectations, sickened and died. He left us recommending Luis de Moscoso to be our Governor.

Since we could find no way to the sea, we agreed to take our course to the west, on which we might come out by land to Mexico, should we be unable to find any thing, or a place whereon to settle. We travelled seven-

teen days, until we came to the Province of Chavite, where the Indians made much salt; but we could learn nothing of them concerning the west: thence we went to another province, called Aguacay, and were three days on the way, still going directly westward. After leaving this place, the Indians told us we should see no more settlements unless we went down in a southwest-and-by-south direction, where we should find large towns and food; that in the course we asked about, there were some large sandy wastes, without any people or subsistence whatsoever.

We were obliged to go where the Indians directed us, and went to a Province called Nisione, and to another called Nondacao, and another, Came; and at each remove we went through lands that became more sterile and afforded less subsistence. We continually asked for a province which they told us was large, called Xuacatino. The Cacique of Nondacao gave us an Indian purposely to put us somewhere whence we could never come out: the guide took us over a rough country, and off the road, until he told us at last he did not know where he was leading us; that his master had ordered him to take us where we should die of hunger. We took another guide, who led us to a Province called Hais, where, in seasons, some cattle are wont to

herd; and as the Indians saw us entering their country, they began to cry out: "Kill the cows—they are coming;" when they sallied and shot their arrows at us, doing us some injury.

We went from this place and came to the Province of Xacatin, which was among some close forests, and was scant of food. Hence the Indians guided us eastward to other small towns, poorly off for food, having said that they would take us where there were other Christians like us, which afterwards proved false; for they could have had no knowledge of any others than ourselves, although, as we made so many turns, it might be in some of them they had observed our passing. We turned to go southward, with the resolution of either reaching New Spain, or dying. We travelled about six days in a direction south and southwest, when we stopped.

Thence we sent ten men, on swift horses, to travel in eight or nine days as far as possible, and see if any town could be found where we might re-supply ourselves with maize, to enable us to pursue our journey. They went as far as they could go, and came upon some poor people without houses, having wretched huts, into which they withdrew; and they neither planted nor gathered any thing, but lived entirely upon flesh and fish. Three or

four of them, whose tongue no one we could find understood, were brought back. Reflecting that we had lost our interpreter, that we found nothing to eat, that the maize we brought upon our backs was failing, and it seemed impossible that so many people should be able to cross a country so poor, we determined to return to the town where the Governor Soto died, as it appeared to us there was convenience for building vessels with which we might leave the country.

We returned by the same road we had taken, until we came to the town; but we did not discover so good outfit as we had thought to find. There were no provisions in the town, the Indians having taken them away, so we had to seek another town, where we might pass the winter and build the vessels. I thank God that we found two towns very much to our purpose, standing upon the Rio Grande, and which were fenced around, having also a large quantity of maize. Here we stopped, and with great labour built seven brigantines, which were finished at about the end of six months. We threw them out into the water, and it was a mystery that, calked as they were with the bark of mulberry-trees, and without any pitch, we should find them stanch and very safe. Going down the river, we took with us also some canoes, into which

were put twenty-six horses, for the event of finding any large town on the shore of the sea that could sustain us with food, while we might send thence a couple of brigantines to the Viceroy of New Spain, with a message to provide us with vessels in which we could get away from the country.

The second day, descending the stream, there came out against us about forty or fifty very large and swift canoes, in some of which were as many as eighty warriors, who assailed us with their arrows, following and shooting at us. Some who were in the vessels thought it trifling not to attack them; so, taking four or five of the small canoes we brought along, they went after them. The Indians, seeing this, surrounded them, so that they could not get away, and upset the canoes, whereby twelve very worthy men were drowned, beyond the reach of our succour, because of the great power of the stream, and the oars in the vessels being few.

The Indians were encouraged by this success to follow us to the sea, which we were nineteen days in reaching, doing us much damage and wounding many people; for, as they found we had no arms that could reach them from a distance, not an arquebuse nor a crossbow having remained, but only some swords and targets, they lost their fears, and

would draw very nigh to let drive at us with their arrows.

We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk, like that of the river. Some small islets were seen westward, to which we went: thenceforward we kept close along the coast, where we took shell-fish, and looked for other things to eat, until we entered the River of Pánuco, where we came and were well received by the Christians.

LUYS HERNANDEZ DE BIEDMA.

A NARRATIVE

OF

DÉ SOTO'S EXPEDITION

BASED ON THE

DIARY OF RODRIGO RANJEL

HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY

BY

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS

TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE[1]

LET not the reader marvel that the historian goes over in exact detail the days' marches and rivers and crossings that this Commander and Governor Hernando de Soto encountered in these provinces and regions of the north, because among those gentlemen who were with the army all the time there was one named Rodrigo Ranjel, of whom mention has been made and will be made in the future, who served in this army and who, desiring to keep in mind what he saw and the course of his life, wrote down day by day at the end of his labours, every thing which happened, like a wise man, and also as a diversion, and also because every Christian ought to do so, to be able to confess, and to recall to memory his faults, especially those who are engaged in war; and also because those who have toiled and endured such heavy labours find comfort afterwards, as eye-witnesses, in sharing their experiences with

[1] From Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias,* lib. XVII. cap. XXVI.

their friends, and in giving an account of themselves as they ought to. And so this Rodrigo Ranjel, after all these things had happened, which have been and shall be narrated, came to this city of Santo Domingo, in the Island of Española,[2] and gave an account to the royal audiencia of all these things, and it asked him and charged him that he should tell me in writing and give an account of everything in order that, as chronicler of their Majesties of these histories of the Indies, there might be gathered together and included in them this conquest and discovery in the North, that it might be known; since so many novelties and strange matters would be a delight for the judicious reader and a warning to many who are likely to lose their lives in these Indies following a governor who thus has control over the lives of others, as is apparent by these studies and writings of mine.

[2] This sentence makes it possible to fix the date before which Oviedo secured his material, for he left Santo Domingo in August, 1546.

CHAPTER I[1]

How Hernando de Soto was appointed to govern Cuba as Captain-General of their Majesties, and with the title of Adelantado of Florida.

The Emperor, our lord, appointed as his Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Cuba and of the Province of Florida and the adjacent regions in the northern mainland, which had been discovered by the commander Johan Ponce de Leon, Hernando de Soto, who was one of the soldiers of the Governor Pedrarias de Ávila, of whom in the history of Terra-Firma[2] there has been frequent mention, since he was one of the pioneers in those parts and was in the lead in the capture of Atabaliba[3] when he was one of those who obtained a large share of the spoils. He brought so much to Spain that it was reported that he found himself in Castile with over one hundred thousand pesos de oro,[4] where, for his services and merits, he was very

[1] Chapter XXI. of Book XVII. of the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* of Oviedo. Vol. I., pp. 544ff.

[2] South America.

[3] Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru.

[4] The peso de oro was one-sixth of an ounce, and approximately equivalent to three dollars.

well received by the Emperor, our lord; and he made him Knight of the Order of St. James and bestowed other honours and made him Governor and Captain-General, as has been related.

And while he was in Castile he married one of the daughters of the Governor Pedrarias Dávila, whose name was Doña Isabel de Bovadilla, and, who, like her mother, was a woman both good and great and truly noble in mind and bearing. With her De Soto went to the island of Cuba where he arrived in the month of [June [5]] in the year 1539.[6] And after he had viewed the island and its settlements, and made the provision needful for its well being and for the preservation of the land, he gave orders to arm and to pass over to the mainland to conquer and settle and reduce to peaceful life those provinces which his Majesty had bestowed upon him; and in this enterprise the events took place which will be narrated in the following chapters.

[5] Blank in the text. A letter from the audiencia of Santiago de Cuba gives the date as June 7. The document itself is wrongly dated 1539, instead of 1538. (B. Smith's *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, 288.)

[6] So in the original, but it should be 1538. See Vol. I. Ch. V.

CHAPTER II

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE GOVERNOR, HERNANDO DE SOTO, FROM THE ISLAND OF CUBA OR FERNANDINA FOR THE NORTHERN MAINLAND; AND OF THE FLEET AND THE SOLDIERS WHICH HE TOOK FOR THE DISCOVERY; AND OF THE LABOUR OF LANDING AND HOW MANY HORSES AND OTHER THINGS HE TOOK; AND HOW THEY RESCUED A CHRISTIAN CALLED JOHAN ORTIZ, WHO HAD BEEN LOST AND WENT NAKED LIKE THE INDIANS.

ON Sunday, May 18, 1539, the Governor Hernando de Soto departed from the City of Havana with a noble fleet of nine vessels, five ships, two caravels and two brigantines; and on May 25, which was Whitsuntide, land was seen on the northern coast of Florida; and the fleet came to anchor two leagues from shore in four fathoms of water or less; and the Governor went on board a brigantine to view the land, and with him a gentleman named Johan de Añasco and the chief pilot of the fleet whose name was Alonso Martin, to discover what land it was, for they were in doubt as to the port and where to find it;[1] and not recognizing it, seeing that night was approaching, they wished to return to the ships, but the wind did not suffer them for it was contrary; therefore they cast anchor near

[1] The port Juan de Añasco had found earlier during his reconnoisance. See Vol. I. p. 20.

the land and went on shore, where they came upon traces of many Indians and one of the large cabins that are seen in the Indies and other small ones. Later they were told that it was the village of Oçita.

The Governor and those with him were in no small peril, since they were few and without arms; and no less was the distress of those left in ships to see their General in such an evil case, for they could neither succour nor assist him if there were need. In fact, to take such great care, was really heedlessness and excessive zeal, or a lack of prudence on the part of the Governor; for such work belongs to other persons and not to him who has to govern and rule the army, and it is enough to send a captain of lower rank for such a reconnoissance and the protection of the pilot who has to go to examine the coast. And the ships there were in sore travail and the whole fleet too, in which there were 570 men, not counting the sailors; including them the number was fully 700. The next morning, Monday, the brigantine was far to the leeward of the ships and labouring to come up to them and was no wise able to. Seeing this, Baltasar de Gallegos shouted to the Admiral's ship that the Lieutenant-General, who was a knight named Vasco Porcallo, should go and see what had best be done

and, when he heard him not, to bring aid to the Governor he ordered a large caravel to weigh anchor in which that gentleman went as captain, and which put out in the direction where the brigantine appeared; and although the Governor regretted it, yet it was well done since it was in his service and to succour his person. Finally the caravel came up to the brigantine, much to the satisfaction of the Governor.

In the meantime the harbour was recognized and the other brigantine stationed in the channel as sign for the ships, and the Governor's brigantine approached to station the caravel also in the channel of the harbour; and he ordered that it should take a position on one side of the channel and the brigantine on the other so that the ships might pass between them. This they now began to do under sail, for they were four or five leagues off. The Governor had to be there to show them the way, because the chief pilot was in the brigantine and because there were many shallows. In spite of all their pains two of the ships scraped bottom, but, as it was sandy, they received no damage. This day there were hard words between the Governor and Johan de Añasco, who came as the King's auditor, but the Governor restrained his feelings and was patient.

The ships entered the harbour constantly sounding the lead, and sometimes they scraped bottom, but, as it was mud, they passed on. This took up five days, during which they did not land except that some men went ashore and brought water and forage for the horses. Finally, since the ships with their loads could not, on account of the shoals, proceed to where the village lay, they anchored about four leagues farther back.

On Friday, May 30, they began to put the horses ashore. The place where they disembarked was due north of the Island of Tortuga, which is in the mouth of the Bahama channel. The chief of this land was named Oçita,[2] and it is ten leagues west of the Bay of Johan Ponce.[3]

As soon as some of the horses were on shore, General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa and Johan de Añasco and Francisco Osorio rode off to see something of the country; and they lighted upon ten Indians with bows and arrows who, in their turn, were coming as warriors to get a look at these Christian guests and to learn what manner of folk they

[2] Ucita in the Portuguese narrative.

[3] Tampa Bay. The landing place of De Soto is usually identified as Tampa Bay. On the uncertainty of the identification of De Soto's route see Lowery (*Spanish Settlements in the United States*, 461ff.).

were, and they shot two horses and the Spaniards slew two Indians and put the rest to flight.

There were in that expedition two hundred and forty-three horses. Of these nineteen or twenty died on the sea, but all the rest were put ashore. The General and some foot soldiers went in the brigantines to see the village; and a gentleman named Gomez Arias returned in one of them and gave a good report of the country and likewise told us how the people had gone away.

On Trinity Sunday, June 1, 1539, this army marched by land toward the village, taking as guides four Indians that Johan de Añasco had captured when in search of the harbour; and they lost their bearings somewhat, either because the Christians failed to understand the Indians or because the latter did not tell the truth. Thereupon the Governor went ahead with some horsemen, but since they were unfamiliar with the land they wearied the horses following deer and floundering in the streams and swamps for twelve leagues till they found themselves opposite the village on the other side of the roadstead of the harbour, which they could not pass around. And that night worn out they slept scattered about and not at all in order for war. During all that week the ships gradu-

ally approached the village, being unloaded little by little with boats, and in that way they took ashore all the clothes and provisions which they carried.

Some paths were found, but no one knew or was able to guess which to take to find the natives of the country. The four Indians understood very little, and then only by signs, and it was not easy to guard them as they had no fetters. Tuesday, June 3, the Governor took possession of the country in the name of their Majesties, with all the formalities that are required, and despatched one of the Indians to persuade and allure the neighbouring chiefs with peace. That same night two of the three Indians that remained ran away, and it was only by great good luck that all three did not get away, which gave the Christians much concern.

On Wednesday the Governor sent Captain Baltasar de Gallegos with the Indian that was left to look for some people or a village or a house. Toward sunset, being off their road, because the Indian, who was the guide, led them wandering and confused, it pleased God that they descried at a distance some twenty Indians painted with a kind of red ointment that the Indians put on when they go to war or wish to make a fine appearance. They wore many feathers and had their bows

and arrows. And when the Christians ran at them the Indians fled to a hill, and one of them came forth into the path lifting up his voice and saying, "Sirs, for the love of God and of Holy Mary, slay not me; I am a Christian like yourselves and was born in Seville, and my name is Johan Ortiz."

The delight of the Christians was very great in God's having given them a tongue and a guide, of which, at that time, they were in great need; and, with every one very much elated, Baltasar de Gallegos and all the Indians who came with him, returned that night very late to the camp; and the Spaniards of the army were greatly wrought up, believing it was something else, and seized their arms; but seeing what it was, great was the joy that they felt, for they believed that by means of that interpreter they could accomplish much more. Without loss of time, on the Saturday following, the Governor resolved to go with that Johan Ortiz, interpreter, to the chief[4] that had held him who was called Mocoço, to make peace and to induce him to make friends with the Christians. And he awaited them in his village with his Indians, his wives and his sons, not one missing, and he made complaint to the Governor of the

[4] The word *caçique* has been uniformly rendered "chief."

chiefs Orriygua, Neguarete, Çapaloey, and Eçita, all four of whom are chiefs of this coast, saying that they threatened him because he accepted our friendship and saw fit to give up this Christian as an interpreter to the Christians. The Governor made this same interpreter to say that he should have no fear of these chiefs or of others, since he would protect him; and that all the Christians and many more that were to come soon would be his friends and help him and show him favour against his enemies.

That same day Captain Johan Ruiz Lobillo went up into the country with about forty foot soldiers and came upon some huts, but were able to take only two Indian women. To rescue them, nine Indians followed him, shooting at him for three leagues; and they slew one Christian and wounded three or four, yet without his being able to do them any harm, although he had arquebusiers and crossbow-men, because these Indians are as agile and as good fighters as can be found among all the nations of the world.

CHAPTER III

How War began to kindle and was waged cruelly; and how the Lieutenant-General returned to the Island of Cuba; and how the Governor set out from that Port of Spiritu Sancto inland, and what befell him and his folk up to August 10, 1539.

This Governor was much given to the sport of slaying Indians, from the time that he went on military expeditions with the Governor Pedrarias Dávila in the provinces of Castilla del Oro and of Nicaragua; and likewise he was in Peru and present at the capture of that great Prince Atabalipa, where he was enriched. He was one of the richest that returned to Spain because he brought to Seville, and put in safe keeping there, upwards of one hundred thousand pesos of gold; and he decided to return to the Indies to lose them with his life and to continue the employment, blood-stained in the past, which he had followed in the countries I mention.[1]

So then, continuing his conquest, he ordered General Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa to go to Oçita because it was reported that people had come together there; and this captain having

[1] This paragraph records Oviedo's personal views of De Soto, which were distinctly less favourable than those of "The Gentleman of Elvas."

gone there, he found the people departed and he burned the village and threw an Indian, which he had for a guide, to the dogs. The reader is to understand that *aperrear* (to throw to the dogs), is to have the dogs eat him, or kill him, tearing the Indian in pieces, since the Conquistadores in the Indies have always used to carry Irish greyhounds and very bold, savage dogs. It is for this reason that reference was made above to the chase[2] of Indians. In this way this Indian guide was killed because he lied and guided badly.

While Vasco Porcallo was doing what has been related, the Governor despatched another Indian as a messenger to the chief Orriparacogi,[3] and he did not return because an Indian woman told him not to, and for this reason she was thrown to the dogs. There were among those in this army divers opinions whether it would be well to settle there or not, because the soil seemed to be barren, and such in fact is its repute. For this reason the Governor resolved to send Captain Baltasar de Gallegos to Orriparagi with eighty horse and one hundred foot, and he set out on Friday, June 20.

And the Governor likewise sent Johan de

[2] *Monteria,* translated "sport," p. 59 above.

[3] This name, which reappears in varying forms, is the same as the Paracoxi of the "Gentleman of Elvas."

Añasco in the ship's boats along the shore with some foot soldiers to disperse a gathering of the Indians, or to see and hear what was up. He found them on an island, where he had a fray with them and killed with the small cannons[4] that he carried nine of ten Indians and, they in turn, shot or cut down as many or more Christians. And since he could not dislodge them from the island he sent for help, and the messenger was a hidalgo named Johan de Vega, and he asked for horsemen to take possession of the mainland at the place where they were likely to come away; since with the force that he had and with the increase he expected to land and fight the Indians.

The Governor sent Vasco Porcallo with forty horse and some foot, but when this reinforcement arrived the Indians had gone; and the Spaniards, not to have come in vain, raided the land and captured some women whom they took to the camp. Vasco Porcallo, upon his return from this raid, had something of a clash with the Governor (which is concealed in this narrative)[5] nor was the historian able, on account of certain considerations, to find any one who could inform him what he said to him. And it

[4] *Versos de la artilleria.*

[5] Apparently Oviedo's note.

was accepted as a good settlement that Vasco Porcallo should return to Cuba to look after the affairs of the government there, and to provide the Governor and his army when it should be necessary with what they might have need of. The departure of this cavalier was regretted by many since he was a friend of good men and did much for them.

The Governor had ordered Baltasar de Gallegos even though he found no good land, that he should write good news to encourage the men; and, although it was not his nature to lie since he was a man of truth, yet to obey the order of his superior and not to dismay the men, he always wrote two letters of different tenor, one truthful, and the other of falsehoods, yet falsehoods so skilfully framed with equivocal words that they could be understood one way or the other because they required it; and in regard to this, he said that the true letter would have more force to exculpate himself than the false one evil to harm him.[6] And so the Governor did not show the true letters, but announced beforehand that what he did not show was very secret information which later on would be made clear for the great advantage of all. The ambiguous and deceptive letters he

[6] *I. e.,* the Governor. This sentence is blind in the original.

showed and made such declarations as seemed best to him.

Those letters, although they promised no particular thing, gave hopes and hints that stirred their desires to go forward and emerge from doubts to certainty; wherefore as the sins of mankind are the reason that falsehood sometimes finds reception and credit, all became united and of one mind and requested the invasion of the land, which was just what the Governor was contriving; and those that were ordered to stay behind with Captain Calderon were heavy in spirit, and there were of them forty horse and sixty foot left in guard of the village and the stuff and the harbour and of the brigantines and boats that were left, for all the ships had been despatched to Havana.

The Governor, gratified at this agreement, set out from the village and harbour of Spiritu Sancto (so called from the day when the Governor and his fleet arrived). This departure took place on Tuesday, July 15, 1539, and that night they bivouacked on the river of Mocoço, and they took with them a large drove of pigs which had been brought over in the fleet to meet any emergency. They made two bridges where the army crossed the river. The next day they were at the lake of the Rabbit, and they gave it this name be-

cause a rabbit suddenly started up in the camp and frightened all the horses, which ran back over a league, not one remaining; and all the Christians scattered to recover the loose horses; and if there had been any Indians around, even a few, they would have had the Spaniards at their mercy and, in return for their lack of caution, a shameful ending of the war would have been prepared for them.

The horses having been recovered, the next day they reached St. John's Lake, and the next day under a grievous sun they came to a plain, and the soldiers arrived much exhausted and a steward of the Governor's, who was named Prado, died of thirst; and many of the foot soldiers were hard pressed, and others must needs have followed the steward if they had not been helped with the horses. The next day they came to the plain of Guaçoco, and the soldiers went into the corn fields and gathered the green corn[7] with which they cheered themselves not a little, for it was the first they had seen in that country.

The next day, early, they came to Luca, a little village, and there Baltasar de Gallegos came to meet the Governor. The Monday following, July 21, they were joined by

[7] The Indian word *mahiz,* maize, "Indian corn," has been uniformly rendered corn in accordance with common American usage.

the soldiers that Baltasar de Gallegos had, and the Governor sent a messenger to Urriparacoxi, but no reply was received; and on Wednesday, July 23, the Governor set out with his army and came to Vicela [8] and went beyond it to sleep. On Thursday they slept at another village called Tocaste which was on a large lake. And this same day the Governor went on with some horsemen along the road to Ocale [9] because he had great reports of the riches he expected to find there. And when he saw the roads broad he thought he had his hands already on the spoil and ordered one of his knights, named Rodrigo Ranjel, because, besides being a good soldier and a man of worth, he had a good horse, to return to the camp for more soldiers to accompany him; and this esquire did so, although not without misgiving of what might happen, since for the Governor to stay with only ten horsemen seemed to him too few; and he sent that gentleman alone and through a land of enemies and bad trails and where, if any found him, he must die or rush through, if he was not to return without response; and since he felt ashamed to ask for company he bowed his head and obeyed. But I do not praise him for that determination since, indeed,

[8] Acela in the Portuguese narrative.

[9] Or Ocali.

in matters that are necessary and obvious, it is allowable that with reason one should submit to the prince who provides in order that he may be well served and his orders best carried into effect. What befell this messenger horseman on that day he did not wish to say, because what he said would be about himself. Suffice it to say that he well proved his resolution to be a brave man, and that he fell upon Indians enough that were on the trail of the Governor and got through. When he arrived at headquarters the Master of the Camp [10] gave him fourteen horse with which the number with the Governor was increased to twenty-six.

The next day, Friday, they moved the headquarters along the trail of the Governor, and on the road they came up with two horsemen whom the Governor had sent to the master of the camp, who was a knight named Luis de Moscoso, to order him not to

[10] The Spanish *Maestre de Campo* was a kind of adjutant-general, and had charge under the commanding officer of the administrative duties of the army. *Cf.* the "Gentleman of Elvas," Vol. I. p. 47. The *Maestre de Campo* was often placed in charge of an independent command, and his rank would then be equivalent at least to that of Brigadier-General. The Anglicized "Master of the Camp" has the sanction of Hakluyt and the other old translators.

move, and they returned to where they started from to sleep, because they had a brush,[11] which is the same as a skirmish, with the Indians who killed a horse belonging to Carlos Enriquez, the husband of the Governor's neice, a native of Xerez de Badajoz, and wounded some Christians. And there was much suffering from hunger so that they ate the ears of corn with the cobs or wood (which is *cassi*) on which the grains grow.

The next day, Saturday, the Governor found the roads broader and the aspect of the country fine, and he sent back two horsemen for thirty others and gave orders for the camp to follow him. And the Master of the Camp sent Nuño de Tovar with thirty horse and moved the headquarters as the Governor had ordered. The Governor, with the twenty-six horse that were with him, on St. Anne's day reached the river or swamp of Cale. The current was strong and broad and they crossed it with great difficulty, and where there was no need of a bridge they waded through the water up to their necks, with clothes and saddles on their heads, a distance of more than three cross-bow shots. The thirty horsemen that Nuño de Tovar took had crossed the following Sunday and the current carried off one horse which was drowned. Seeing

[11] Guaçabara.

that, the rest crossed with ropes just as those had done who were with the Governor.

These soldiers and the Governor came to the first village of Ocale, which was called Uqueten, where they took two Indians. Next the Governor sent back some of the horsemen with mules, that had been brought from Cuba, loaded with corn and other provisions for those that were behind, since he had come upon an abundance. This succour came in good time for they found them in that swamp eating herbs and roots roasted and others boiled without salt, and what was worse, without knowing what they were. They were cheered by the arrival of the food and their hunger and need gave it a relish and flavour most acceptable. From this refreshment their energies revived and strength took the place of weakness, and on the following Tuesday, the last of those lagging behind arrived at the Governor's camp. But some soldiers who had strayed had been wounded, and a crossbow-man named Mendoça had been slain. The camp was now at Ocale, a village in a good region for corn, and there, while they were sent to Acuera for provisions, the Indians, on two occasions, killed three soldiers of the Governor's guard and wounded others, and killed a horse; and all that through bad arrangements, since these Indians, al-

though they are archers and have strong bows and are skilful and sure marksmen, yet their arrows have no poison, nor do they know what it is.

CHAPTER IV

How the Governor, Hernando de Soto, following up his Conquest went on, and how the Indians desired to slay or to take him by guile to free a Chief whom he carried with him; and how a Chief gave the Governor a buffet that bathed his teeth in Blood; and of other matters appropriate to the Narrative of the History.

On August 11, the Governor set forth from Ocale with fifty horse and one hundred foot in search of Apalache, since it was reputed to be populous; and Luis de Moscoso remained behind with the remainder of the camp until it should appear how the advance section got on. That night they slept at Itaraholata,[1] a fine village with plenty of corn. There an Indian crowded up to Captain Maldonado and badly wounded his horse and he would have snatched his lance from his hands, had not the Governor by chance come up, although Maldonado was a good knight and one of the most valiant in that army; but the

[1] *Ytara* in the Portuguese narrative. See Vol. I. p. 38.

Indians of that land are very warlike and wild and strong.

The next day they were at Potano, and the the next, Wednesday, they reached Utinamocharra,[2] and from there they went to the village of Bad Peace.[3] This name was given to it because when Johan de Añasco had captured on the way thirty persons belonging to that chief, he, in order that they might be surrendered, sent to say that he wished to make peace, and sent in his stead to treat, a vagabond, who was believed to be the chief himself, and his people were given to him. The sequel was that this Indian, escaping from the Christians another day, took refuge among the mass of Indians which were in a dense wood; and a blooded Irish greyhound which came up at the call, went in among the Indians, and, although he passed by many, he seized no one in the crowd except that fugitive; him he took by the fleshy part of the arm in such a way that the Indian was thrown and they took him.[4]

The next day the Christians arrived at a fair-sized village where they found much food and many small chestnuts dried and very delicious, wild chestnuts; but the trees that bear

[2] Utinama in the Portuguese narrative.

[3] *Mala-Paz.*

[4] *Cf.* the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 39.

them are only two palms high and they grow in prickly burrs. There are other chestnuts in the land which the Spaniards saw and ate, which are like those of Spain, and grow on as tall chestnut trees; and the trees themselves are big and with the same leaf and burrs or pods, and the nuts are rich and of very good flavour. This army went from there to a stream which they named Discords, and the reason therefor he desired to conceal who prepared this narrative, because as a man of worth, he did not purpose to relate the faults or weaknesses of his friends.

On that day they built a bridge of pines which abound there, and the next, Sunday, they crossed that stream with as much or more toil than was the case with the Ocale. The next day, Monday, they arrived at Aguacaleyquen,[5] and Rodrigo Ranjel and Villalobos, two gentlemen, equestrians, yet gentlemen (I say equestrians because there were cavalry in that army) captured an Indian man and an Indian woman in a corn field; and she showed where the corn was hidden, and the Indian man took Captain Baltasar de Gallegos where he captured seventeen persons, among them the daughter of the chief, in order that it might impel her father to make peace; but he would have liked to free her without it,

[5] Caliquen. See Vol. I. p. 40.

if his deceptions and shrewdness had not been less than those of these conquerors.

On August 22, a great multitude of Indians appeared, and the Governor, seeing the land proved to be more populous and better supplied with provisions, sent eight horse in all haste to summon the Master of the Camp, Luis de Moscoso, to join him with all the force; and the Master of the Camp, took no small pains to comply with this order and arrived where the Governor was on September 4, and all rejoiced to be united once more, because, as they held the chief captive, there was alarm lest the Indians should make haste to get together, which was not far wrong, as presently appeared.

On September 9 they all departed in a body from Aguacaleyquen, taking with them the chief and his daughter, and an Indian of rank named Guatutima as guide, because he professed to know much of the country beyond and gave abundant information. And they made a bridge of pines to cross the river of Aguacaleyquen, and reached a small village for the night. The next day, Friday, they were at Uriutina, a village of pleasant aspect and abundant food, and there was in it a very large cabin with a large open court in the middle. The population there was considerable. When they left Aguacaleyquen

messengers were coming and going from Ucachile, a great chief, playing upon a flute for ceremony. On Friday, September 12, these Christians came to a village which they named Many Waters, because it rained so much that they could not go on either Saturday or Sunday; the Monday following, the 15th, they proceeded and came upon a very bad swamp and all the way was very toilsome, and they slept at Napituca, which is a very pleasant village, in a pretty spot, with plenty of food.

There the Indians employed all their deceptions and devices to recover the chief of Aguacaleyquen, and the affair reached a point that put the Governor in great peril; but their deceptions and tricks were seen through, and he played them a greater one in this fashion. Seven chiefs from the vicinity came together, and sent to say to the Governor that they were subjects of Uçachile, and that by his order and of their own will, they wished to be friends of the Christians and to help them against Apalache, a mighty province hostile to Uçachile and to themselves, and that they had come to him persuaded and requested by Aguacaleyquen (the chief that the Christians had in captivity), and that they were afraid to enter the camp and to be detained; therefore, let the Governor bring

Aguacaleyquen with him and go with them to a large plain that was there to negotiate this business. Their dealings were understood, and the message accepted and the Governor went forth to speak with them; but he gave command to the Christians to arm and to mount their horses and at the sound of the trumpet to rush upon the Indians. And having gone to the plain with only his guard and a saddle to sit upon, and accompanied by the chief of Aguacaleyquen, hardly was the Governor seated and the discourse begun, than he saw himself suddenly surrounded with Indians with bows and arrows. From many directions countless others were coming, and immediately the peril was obvious, which the Governor anticipated; and before the trumpet sounded the Master of the Camp, Luis de Moscoso, struck the legs of his horse, shouting "Come on, Knights, Sanctiago, Sanctiago, at them!" And so in a jiffy the cavalry were thrusting many Indians with their lances; and their stratagem was of no use to them and enabled our men to get the start of them in the fighting; yet notwithstanding that they fought like men of great spirit and they killed the Governor's horse and also that of a gentleman named Sagredo, and they wounded others.[6] And after the fighting had

[6] This account differs considerably from that of

lasted a considerable time, the Indians took flight and sought refuge in two ponds; and the Spaniards surrounded one, but the other they could not, and they held that enclosure, watching all the night and until morning, when the Indians surrendered, and they took out from there three hundred and five or six chiefs among them.

Uriutina remained to the last and would not go out until some Indians of Uçachile swam in to him and pulled him out, and as he came out he asked for a messenger for his country. When the messenger was brought before him, he said: "Look you, go to my people and tell them that they take no thought of me; that I have done as a brave man and lord what there was to do, and struggled and fought like a man until I was left alone; and if I took refuge in this pond, it was not to escape death, or to avoid dying as befits me, but to encourage those that were there and had not surrendered; and that, when they surrendered, I did not give myself up until these Indians of Uçachile, which are of our nation, asked me to, saying that it would be best for all. Wherefore, what I enjoin upon

the "Gentleman of Elvas." See Vol. I. p. 42. The account in Garcilaso would seem to be quite imaginary. *Cf.* Irving's reproduction of it *(Conquest of Florida,* Ed. 1851, pp. 105ff.).

them and ask is, that they do not, out of regard for me or for any one else, have anything to do with these Christians who are devils and will prove mightier than they; and that they may be assured that as for me, if I have to die, it will be as a brave man."

All of this was immediately reported and declared to the Governor by Johan Ortiz, the interpreter, that Christian who was found in the land, as the history has related. The Indians that were taken in the manner described were carried and put in a wigwam with their hands tied behind their backs; and the Governor went among them to recognize the chiefs, encouraging them in order to induce them to peace and harmony; and he had them released that they might be treated better than the common Indians. One of those chiefs, as they untied him, while the Governor was standing by, threw back his arm and gave the Governor such a tremendous blow that he bathed his teeth in blood and made him spit up much. For this reason they bound him and the others to stakes and shot them with arrows.[7] Other Indians did many other deeds

[7] The divergence between the "Gentleman of Elvas" and Ranjel in relating this incident is considerable. *Cf.* Vol. I. p. 43. Juan Coles, whose written recollections Garcilasco quoted, says that De Soto lost two teeth by this blow *(La Florida,* 67).

which cannot be fully described, as the historian said, who was present. Wherefore, the Governor seeing that the Christians with so few Indians and without arms were so hard pressed, not being less so himself, spoke as follows: "Would to God that those lords of the Council were here to see what it is to serve his majesty in this country!" And it is because they do know it, says the Chronicler,[8] that they have ordered the tyrannies and cruelties to cease, and that the pacification of the Indians shall be carried on in a better way, in order that God our Lord and his Imperial Majesty may be better served, and the consciences of the conquerors be more at peace, and the natives of the country no longer maltreated.

Tuesday, September 23, the Governor and his army departed from Napituca and came to the river of the Deer. This name was given to it because there the messengers from Uçachile brought thither some deer, of which there are many fine ones in that land; and across this river they made a bridge of three great pine-trees in length and four in breadth. These pines are well proportioned and as tall as the tallest in Spain. After the whole army had finished crossing this river, which was on the 25th of this month, they passed through on

[8] *I. e.*, Oviedo.

the same day two small villages and one very large one, which was called Apalu, and they came by nightfall to Uçachile. In all these villages they found the people gone, and some captains went out to forage and brought in many Indians. They left Uçachile on the following Monday, the 29th, and having passed by a high mountain, they came at nightfall to a pine wood. And a young fellow named Cadena went back without permission for a sword, and the Governor was going to have him hanged for both offences; and by the intervention of kind persons he escaped. Another day, on Tuesday, the 30th of September, they came to Agile,[9] subject to Apalache and some women were captured; and they are of such stuff that one woman took a young fellow named Herrera, who staid alone with her and behind his companions, and seized him by his private parts and had him worn out and at her mercy; and perhaps, if other Christians had not come by who rescued him the Indian woman would have killed him. He had not wanted to have to do with her in a carnal way, but she wanted to get free and run away.

On Wednesday, the first of October, the Governor Hernando de Soto, started from Agile and came with his soldiers to the river

[9]Axille in the Portuguese narrative.

or swamp of Ivitachuco,[10] and they made a bridge; and in the high swamp grass on the other side there was an ambuscade of Indians, and they shot three Christians with arrows. They finished crossing this swamp on the Friday following at noon and a horse was drowned there. At nightfall they reached Ivitachuco and found the village in flames, for the Indians had set fire to it. Sunday, October 5, they came to Calahuchi, and two Indians and one Indian woman were taken and a large amount of dried venison. There the guide whom they had ran away. The next day they went on, taking for a guide an old Indian who led them at random, and an Indian woman took them to Iviahica,[11] and they found all the people gone. And the next day two captains went on further and found all the people gone.

Johan de Añasco started out from that village and eight leagues from it he found the port where Pamphilo de Narvaez had set sail in the vessels which he made. He recognized

[10] Uitachuco in the Portuguese narrative. Garcilaso made Vitachuco the Indian hero of his account of the attempted destruction of the Spaniards, and also the one who struck De Soto in the face.

[11] Anhayca Apalache in the Portuguese narrative, and Iniahico in Biedma's Relation. Possibly Oviedo or his editor misread v for n. The place is supposed to have been not far from Tallahassee.

it by the headpieces of the horses and the place where the forge was set up and the mangers and the mortars that they used to grind corn and by the crosses cut in the trees.

They spent the winter there, and remained until the 4th of March, 1540, in which time many notable things befell them with the Indians, who are the bravest of men and whose great courage and boldness the discerning reader may imagine from what follows. For example, two Indians once rushed out against eight men on horseback; twice they set the village on fire; and with ambuscades they repeatedly killed many Christians, and although the Spaniards pursued them and burned them they were never willing to make peace. If their hands and noses were cut off they made no more account of it than if each one of them had been a Mucius Scaevola of Rome. Not one of them, for fear of death, denied that he belonged to Apalache; and when they were taken and were asked from whence they were they replied proudly: "From whence am I? I am an Indian of Apalache." And they gave one to understand that they would be insulted if they were thought to be of any other tribe than the Apalaches.[12]

The Governor decided to go further inland,

[12] See the extracts from the *Peregrinacion* of

because an Indian lad gave great reports of what there was in the interior; and he sent Johan de Añasco with thirty horse for Captain Calderon and the soldiers left in the harbour; and they burned the supplies which they left and the village; and Captain Calderon came by land with all the soldiers, and Johan de Añasco came by sea with the brigantines and boats to the harbour of Apalache.

On Saturday, November 19,[13] Johan de Añasco arrived at the harbour and immediately Maldonado was despatched along shore with the brigantines to discover a harbour to the west. At the same time Captain Calderon arrived with all his force, less two men and seven horses, that the Indians killed on the way. Maldonado discovered an excellent harbour and brought an Indian from the province adjacent to this coast which was called Achuse, and he brought a good blanket of sable fur. They had seen others in Apalache but none like that. Captain Maldonado was sent to Havana and left Apalache the 26th of February, 1540, with the instructions and

Alonzo de Carmona on the Apalache indians, p. 151, below.

[13] November 19, 1539, came on Wednesday. This is the first error in chronology noted in Ranjel's narrative. Apparently the date given by the "Gentleman of Elvas," Sunday, December 28, is the correct one. See Vol. I. p. 49.

command of the Governor that he should return to the port that he had discovered and to that coast where the Governor expected to arrive. The Province of Apalache is very fertile and abundantly provided with supplies with much corn, kidney beans, pumpkins, various fruits, much venison, many varieties of birds and excellent fishing near the sea; and it is a pleasant country, though there are swamps, but these have a hard sandy bottom.

CHAPTER V

How the Governor, Hernando de Soto, and his Army Set out from Iviahica in search of Capachequi; how the Guide that they carried, when he knew nothing further about the Road, made believe that he was possessed of the Devil; and also about various other notable Incidents.

The departure from Iviahica in search of Capachequi began on Wednesday, March 3, 1540, and by night the Governor came to the river Guacuca; and departing from there they came to the river Capachequi, where they arrived early the following Friday; and they made a canoe or barge to cross it. And the river was so broad that Christopher Mosquera, who was the best thrower, was not

able to throw across it with a stone. And they took the chains in which they were bringing the Indians, and with some "S" hooks of iron, fastened them together and made one chain of them all. They fastened one end of the chain to one bank and the other to another in order to take over the barge, and the current was so strong that the chain broke twice. Seeing this, they fastened many ropes together and made of them two, and they fastened one to the stern and the other to the bow and drawing the barge first one way and then the other, they got the people and the baggage across. To get the horses over they made long ropes and tied them about their necks and although the current carried them down, by pulling on the ropes they drew them over, yet with toil and some were half drowned.

On Wednesday, March 9,[1] the whole force finished crossing the river Capachequi and went on to sleep in a pine wood. The next day, Thursday, they came to the first village of Capachequi, which contained an abundance of supplies. They passed through much undergrowth or land closely covered with bushes, and then came by nightfall to another village further along where they struck a bad swamp close to the village with a strong current, before they arrived. And they crossed

[1] Wednesday was the 10th.

a great stretch of water up to the girths and saddlepads of the horses; and it was not possible for all the force to get across that day, on account of the hard passage. And there a hundred [2] soldiers with swords and bucklers strayed off, and as many Indians beset them and killed one of them and would have killed all if they had not been rescued.

On the 17th of March they left Capachequi and at nightfall came to White Spring. This was a very beautiful spring with a large flow of good water and containing fish.[3] The next day they came at nightfall to the river Toa [4] where they made two bridges; and the horse belonging to Lorenzo Suarez, son of Vasco Porcallo was drowned. On the following Sunday, March 21, they came to cross the river Toa, and they twice made a bridge of pines and the strong current broke them. Another bridge was made with timbers criss-

[2] Evidently there is an error of transcription in Oviedo's text; *cinco* should be substituted for *cient.* See the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 52. Garcilaso de la Vega, who uniformly indulges in large numbers, mentions only seven, of whom six were killed. *(La Florida,* 109, Ed. 1723. Irving, *Conquest of Florida,* 1851, 194.)

[3] *Cf.* Bartram's description of one of the large springs in this region. *(Travels through North and South Carolina,* etc., Ed. 1793, 229.)

[4] Toalli in the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 52.

crossed in a way suggested to them by a gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, at which everybody laughed; but it was true what he said, and after it was made they passed over very well by that means; and Monday all the force got across and came by nightfall to a pine wood, although separated into many sections and in bad order. On Tuesday morning they arrived early at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the 24th, the Governor went off at midnight in secret with about forty horse, knights and gentlemen and some others, who for various reasons had not wished to be under another captain. And they went on all that day until night, when they came to a bad passage of water quite deep. Although it was night, they got over it, and that day they went twelve leagues. And the next day, in the morning, which was Holy Thursday, they arrived at the settlement of Chisi[5] and they crossed a branch of a big river, very broad, wading and a good part of it swimming. And they came to a village, which was on an island in this river, where they captured some people and found some provisions; and, as it was a perilous place, before canoes should appear, they turned to go back the way they came; but

[5]Achese in the Portuguese narrative, Vol. I. p. 54.

first they breakfasted on some fowl of the country, which are called *guanaxas*[6] and some strips of venison which they found placed upon a framework of sticks,[7] as for roasting on a gridiron. And though it was Holy Thursday there was no one so strict a Christian that he scrupled to eat flesh; and there the lad Perico, whom they brought from Apalache as a guide, took them, and they passed on to other villages and to a bad passage through a swamp where some horses nearly got drowned. The horses swam with their saddles, while their masters crossed on a beam stretched over the channel, and in so crossing, one Benito Fernandez, a Portuguese, fell off the log and was drowned. This day they came to a village where some principal Indians appeared as messengers from Ichisi; and one of them addressed the Governor and said three words, one after the other, in this manner: "Who are you, what do you want, where are you going?" And they brought presents of skins, the blankets of the country, which were the first gifts as a sign of peace. All of this took place on Holy Thursday and

[6] Turkeys.

[7] *En barbacoa.* The *barbacoa,* whence the word "barbecue," was usually a kind of scaffold or framework on posts, used for drying meat, for a burial place, or as a look-out. It is also used for our familiar corncrib. *Cf.* Vol. I. pp. 44, 53.

on the Day of the Incarnation. To the questions of the Indian the Governor replied that he was a captain of the great King of Spain; that in his name he had come to make known to them the holy faith of Christ; that they should acknowledge him and be saved and yield obedience to the Apostolic Church of Rome and to the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of God, who lived there; and that in temporal affairs they should acknowledge for king and lord the Emperor, King of Castile, our Lord, as his vassals; and that they would treat them well in every thing and that he would maintain toward them peace and justice just the same as towards all his Christian vassals.

Monday, March 29, they went from there to Ichisi; and it rained very hard and a small stream rose so much that if they had not made great haste in crossing all the army would have been in danger. This day Indian men and women came forth to receive them, and the women were clothed in white and made a fine appearance; and they gave the Christians corn cakes and some bunches of young onions just like those of Castile, as big as the end of the thumb and larger. And from now on, this food was of great assistance to them and they ate the onions with the cakes roasted and boiled and raw, and they

were a great refreshment, for they are very good. The white clothing, with which the Indian women were clothed, were mantles, apparently of homespun linen and some of them were very thin. They make the thread of them from the bark of the mulberry tree, not the outside, but the intermediate layers; and they know how to make use of it and to spin it, and to dress it as well and to weave it. They make very fine mantles, and they wear one from the girdle down and another fastened on one side with the end over the shoulders like those Bohemians, or gypsies, who wander sometimes through Spain; and the thread is of such a quality that one who was there assured me that he saw the women spin it from that mulberry bark and make it as good as the best thread from Portugal that women can get in Spain for their work, and finer and somewhat like it and stronger. The mulberry trees are quite like those of Spain, just as tall and larger, but the leaf is softer and better for silk, and the mulberries are better eating and larger than those of Spain, and they were very frequently of great advantage to the Spaniards for food.

That day they came to a village of a chief, a subject of Ichisi, a small village with abundant food; and he gave of what he had with good will. They rested there Tuesday

and on Wednesday the last of March the Governor set out with his army and came to Great River, where they took many canoes, in which they crossed easily and came to the village of the lord, who was one-eyed and he gave them much food and fifteen Indians as porters. As he was the first that came to them in peace they did not wish to burden him overmuch. They were there Thursday, the first of April, and they set up in the mound of the village a cross and interpreted to them the holiness of the cross, and they received it and worshipped it devoutly to all appearance. On Friday, April 2, the army departed from that place and slept in the open country. On the next day they came to a considerable stream and found deserted cabins, and there messengers came from Altamaha and took them to a village where they found an abundance of food; and a messenger came from Altamaha with a present and the next day they brought many canoes and the army crossed very comfortably. And from there the Governor sent to call the chief Çamumo, and they told him that he always ate and slept and went about armed; that he never laid aside his arms because he was on the borders of another chief named Cofitachequi, his enemy; and that he would not come without them; and the Governor replied and said: that

he might come as he pleased; and he came, and the Governor gave him a large plume adorned with silver. And the chief took it very gladly and said to the Governor: "You are from Heaven, and this plume of yours which you have given me, I can eat with it; I shall go to war with it; I shall sleep with my wife with it;" and the Governor said, yes, he could do all that. And this Çamumo and the others were subjects of a great chief whose name was Ocute. And the chief with the plume asked the Governor to whom he should give tribute in the future, whether to the Governor or to Ocute; and the Governor suspected that this question was put with cunning; and he replied that he regarded Ocute as a brother and that he should pay his tribute to Ocute until the Governor ordered otherwise.

From there he sent messengers to summon Ocute, and he came thither; and the Governor gave him a cap of yellow satin and a shirt and a plume; and he set up a cross there in Altamaha and it was well received. The next day, Thursday, April 8, the Governor departed from that place with his army and took with him Ocute, and they passed the night in some cabins; and Friday he came to the village of Ocute; and the Governor was angry with him and he trembled

with fear. Soon a large number of Indians came with supplies and offered as many Indians as porters as the Christians needed; and a cross was set up and they received it very devoutly to all appearances and worshipped it on their knees as they saw the Christians do. Monday, April 12, they departed from Ocute and reached Cofaqui and the leading men came with gifts. This chief Cofaqui was an old man, with a full beard, and his nephew governed for him. Hither came the chief Tatofa and another principal Indian; and they gave their present, both food and tamemes, all that they had need of. And in that language tameme means the same as carrier. Thursday, the 15th of this month, Perico, who was the Indian lad whom they took for a guide from Apalache, began to lose his bearings because he no longer knew anything of the country. And he made believe that he was possessed of the devil, and he knew how to act the part so well that the Christians believed it was real, and a priest whom they brought with them named Friar John, the Evangelist, said it was so. The upshot of it was that they had to take guides that Tatofa gave them to go to Cofitachequi through a desert country some nine or ten days' march.

I have wondered many times at the venture-

someness, stubbornness, and persistency or firmness, to use a better word for the way these baffled conquerors kept on from one toil to another, and then to another still greater; from one danger to many others, here losing one companion, there three and again still more, going from bad to worse without learning by experience. Oh, wonderful God! that they should have been so blinded and dazed by a greed so uncertain and by such vain discourses as Hernando de Soto was able to utter to those deluded soldiers, whom he brought to a land where he had never been, nor put foot into, and where three other leaders, more experienced than he, had ruined themselves: Johan Ponce, Garay, and Pamphilo de Narvaez, any one of whom had more experience than he in the affairs of the Indies, and inspired more confidence than he; for he neither in the islands nor in the mainland of the north had knowledge except of the government of Pedrarias, in Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua, and in Peru, which was quite another sort of embroilment with Indians. He thought that that experience in the South was sufficient to show him what to do in the North, and he was deceived as the history will tell. Let us return now to the narrative and the march of this captain or Governor, whom I knew very well, and with whom I talked and

associated, as well as with the other three mentioned above, and with the Lawyer Ayllón.[8]

On Friday, the 16th of the month, this Governor and his army spent the night by a small stream on the way to Cofitachequi; and the next day they crossed a very large river, divided into two branches, wider than a long shot from an arquebuse. And the fords were very bad, with many flat stones, and the water came up to the stirrups and in places to the saddlepads. The current was very strong and none of the horsemen dared to take a foot soldier on the croup. The foot soldiers crossed the river further up where it was deeper in this way. They made a line of thirty or forty men tied together and so they crossed over supporting each other; and although some were in much danger, it pleased God that none was drowned, for the horsemen helped them with their horses and gave them the butt of the lance or the tail of the horse, and in that way they all got out and passed the night on a hill. That day they lost many pigs of those which they had brought tame from Cuba, as they were carried down by the current.

The next day, Sunday, they came to an-

[8] This paragraph presents the views of Oviedo, not of Ranjel. Judged by his actual achievement, De Soto far outranks Ponce, Garay, or Pamphilo de Narvaez as an explorer.

other hill or grove to stop, and the next day, Monday, they marched without any trial and crossed another very large river. Tuesday they passed the night beside a small stream and Wednesday reached another very large river and hard to cross which was divided into two streams which were very difficult to enter and worse to get out of. The Christians now were without provisions and with great labour they crossed this river and reached some huts of fishermen or hunters. And the Indians whom they carried had now lost their bearings and no longer knew the way; nor did the Spaniards know it, or in what direction they should go; and among them were divers opinions. Some said they should turn back; others said they ought to go on in a different direction; and the Governor proposed, as he always had done, that it was best to go on, without knowing, either himself or they, what they were aiming at or whither they were wandering. And being at a loss in this labyrinth, on Friday, the 23d of April, the Governor sent to look for roads or villages in the following manner: Baltasar de Gallegos was to go up the river northwest, and Johan de Añasco was to go along the river southeast, each with ten horsemen [9] and rations of

[9] Garcilaso de la Vega says that these scouting parties were each accompanied by one thousand In-

ten days. And on that day other captains returned from searching and they had found nothing. And on Saturday the Governor sent Johan Ruiz Lobillo with four horsemen to the north, with ten days' rations, and he ordered that some of the grown pigs in the army should be slaughtered, and they gave as rations to each man a scant pound of flesh and with it herbs and blite[10] that they gathered. And so as best they could they supplied their needs, not without great struggle and toil, the horses without any food; they and their masters dying of hunger; with no trail, drenched with continual rain, the rivers always rising and narrowing the land, and without hope of villages or knowledge where to find them, lamenting and calling on God for mercy. And our Lord did bring the succour in the following manner. That Sunday, April 25, Johan de Añasco came with news that he had found a village and food, and he greatly cheered the soldiers, and he brought an interpreter and guide. And so they stopped the rations of flesh and each one helped himself out as he could with unknown herbs and blite that the flesh might be left for a reserve.

dians, an interesting example of his romancing *(La Florida,* 119. Irving, *Conquest of Florida,* 212).

[10]*Bledo.* Blite is the English equivalent, but perhaps "greens" is sufficiently exact. Wild spinach was one of the plants called blite.

And the Governor decided immediately to set out, and writing some letters and putting them in some pumpkins he buried them in a secret place and wrote on a tall tree some directions where to find them. And so they set out with Johan de Añasco on Monday, April 26. That day the Governor, with some of the horse, although a few, reached the village which was called Hymahi;[11] and the army remained two leagues behind, the horses exhausted. There was found in the village a barbacoa covered with corn and more than thirty bushels of *pinol* prepared, which is parched corn. And the next day the main force arrived and rations of corn and *pinol* were distributed. And there was no end of mulberries, because there were many trees and it was their season; and this was a great help. And likewise there were found in the plains some berries such as in Italy grow on vines close to the ground and are like madroños, [strawberries] very savoury, palatable, and fragrant and they also grow abundantly in Galicia. In the Kingdom of the Naples this fruit is called *fraoles* [strawberries] and it is a finer delicate fruit and highly thought of. And besides those, they found there along the trails countless roses growing wild like those

[11]Aymay in the Portuguese narrative, see Vol. I. p. 63.

in Spain; and although they have not so many leaves since they are in the woods they are none the less fragrant and finer and sweeter. This village they named Succour.

The next day Captain Alonso Romo came who likewise had been out reconnoitring, and he brought four or five Indians, and not one would show any knowledge of his lord's village or discover it, although they burnt one of them alive before the others, and all suffered that martyrdom for not revealing it. The next day Wednesday, Baltasar de Gallegos came with an Indian woman and news of a populated region. The next day Lobillo returned with news of trails, and he had left behind two companions lost; and the Governor rated him soundly and without suffering him to rest or to eat made him go back to look for them under pain of death, if he brought them not back. And that was a better order and a better deed and judgment than burning alive the Indian that Alonso Romo brought for not consenting to reveal his lord; for to such a one as him the Romans set up a memorable statue in the Forum; and to Christians no such cruelty is allowable toward any one and especially toward an Indian who was ready to die to be loyal to his country and to his lord. But later on the account was squared.

CHAPTER VI

How the Governor Hernando de Soto came to the village of Jalameco; how the woman Chief, Lady of this Land, welcomed him and placed upon his neck a string of pearls that she wore around the neck; and how they found many other Pearls; and how, by the fault of the Governor, they failed to find all that they wanted to; and how later Pearls were found in Streams of fresh Water; and many other Details, appropriate to the course of this Narrative.

. . . . .

Let us return to the sequel and continuation of what we have in hand and are here narrating. Friday the last day of April the Governor took some horse, those that were most refreshed, and the Indian woman that Baltasar de Gallegos brought for a guide, and went along the road to Cofitachequi, and spent the night near a large, deep river; and he sent on Johan de Añasco with some horsemen to secure some interpreters and canoes for crossing the river, and he got some. The next day the Governor came to the crossing opposite the village, and the chief Indians came with gifts and the woman chief,[1] lady

Note—The passage omitted is given as Oviedo's Preface, p. 47 above.

[1] *La Cacica.*

of that land whom Indians of rank bore on their shoulders with much respect, in a litter covered with delicate white linen. And she crossed in the canoes and spoke to the Governor quite gracefully and at her ease. She was a young girl of fine bearing; and she took off a string of pearls which she wore on her neck, and put it on the Governor as a necklace to show her favour and to gain his good will. And all the army crossed over in canoes and they received many presents of skins well tanned and blankets, all very good; and countless strips of venison and dry wafers, and an abundance of very good salt. All the Indians went clothed down to their feet with very fine skins well dressed, and blankets of the country, and blankets of sable fur and others of the skin of wild cats which gave out a strong smell. The people are very clean and polite and naturally well conditioned.[2]

Monday, May 3, all the rest of the force came up; but all were not able to get across until the next day, Tuesday, nor then without the cost and loss of seven horses that were drowned, from among the fattest and strongest ones which struggled against the current.

[2] Cofitachequi has usually been identified with Silver Bluff on the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles south of Augusta, Ga. *Cf.* Lowery *(Spanish Settlements,* 228).

The thin ones that let themselves go with the stream got across better. On Friday, May 7, Baltasar de Gallegos, with the most of the soldiers of the army, arrived at Ilapi to eat seven barbacoas of corn, that they said were there stored for the woman chief. That same day the Governor and Rodrigo Ranjel entered the mosque and oratory of this heathen people, and opening some burying places they found some bodies of men fastened on a barbacoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls; and as they were taking them off Ranjel saw something green like an emerald of good quality and he showed it to the Governor and was rejoiced and he ordered him to look out of the enclosure and to have Johan de Añasco called, the treasurer of their majesties; and Ranjel said to him: "My lord, let us not call any one. It may be that there is a precious stone or jewel?" The Governor replied, somewhat angry, and said: "Even if there should be one, are we to steal it?" When Johan de Añasco came they took out this emerald and it was glass, and after it many beads of glass and rosaries with their crosses. They also found Biscayan axes of iron from which they recognized that they were in the government or territory where the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón came to his ruin. They took away from there some two

hundred pounds of pearls; and when the woman chief saw that the Christians set much store by them, she said: "Do you hold that of much account? Go to Talimeco, my village, and you will find so many that your horses cannot carry them." The Governor replied: "Let them stay there; to whom God gives a gift, may St. Peter bless it." And there the matter dropped. It was believed that he planned to take that place for himself, since it was the best that they saw and with the land in the best condition, although there did not appear to be much people or corn, nor did they delay to look for it there. Some things were done there as in Spain, which the Indians must have been taught by the followers of the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón; since they make hose and moccasins and leggings with ties of white leather, although the leggings are black, and with fringes or edging of coloured leather as they would have done in Spain. In the mosque, or house of worship, of Talimeco there were breastplates like corselets and head-pieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields. This Talimeco was a village holding extensive sway; and this house of worship was on a high mound and much revered. The *caney,* or house of the chief, was very large, high and broad,

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all decorated above and below with very fine handsome mats, arranged so skilfully that all these mats appeared to be a single one; and, marvellous as it seems, there was not a cabin that was not covered with mats. This people has many very fine fields and a pretty stream and a hill covered with walnuts, oak-trees, pines, live oaks, and groves of liquidamber, and many cedars. In this river, Alaminos, a native of Cuba (although a Spaniard), was said to have found a trace of gold, and rumour of this spread abroad among the Spaniards in the army, and from this it was believed that it was a land of gold and that good mines would be found there.

Wednesday, May 13,[3] the Governor went on from Cofitachequi, and in two days came to the territory of Chalaque; but they were not able to come upon the village of the chief, nor was there an Indian that would reveal it. And they bivouacked in a pine wood, whither many Indian men and women began to come in peace with presents and gifts; and they were there on Whitsuntide, and from there the Governor sent a letter to Baltasar de Gallegos with some Indians to the barbacoas where, as has been said above,

[3] The date should be Thursday, May 13, or Wednesday, May 12.

they had gone to eat the corn, requesting him to come on behind the Governor. On Monday, the 17th of this month, they departed thence, and spent the night at a mountain; and on Tuesday they came to Guaquili, and Indians came forth in peace and gave them corn, although little, and many fowls roasted on a barbacoa, and a few little dogs which were good eating. These are dogs of a small size that do not bark; and they breed them in their homes for food.[4] Likewise they gave them tamemes, which are Indians to carry their burdens. On Wednesday, the next day, they came to a region full of reeds, and Thursday to a small plain where one of the horses died, and some of the foot soldiers who had been with Baltasar de Gallegos came up to inform the Governor that he would come soon. The next day, Friday, they were at Xuala,[5] which is a village in a plain between two rivers, and the chief was so prosperous that he gave the Christians whatever they asked—tamemes, corn, dogs, *petacas,* and as much as he had.

[4] Conjectured to be opossums.

[5] Ordinarily located in northern Georgia, but James Mooney places it in western North Carolina near the head of the Broad River. *Cf.* Lowery *(Spanish Settlements,* 230, and note to map opposite p. 480).

Petacas are baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to. And on Saturday Baltasar de Gallegos came there with many sick and lame who must needs be restored whole, particularly in view of the mountain ranges before them. In that Xuala region it seemed that there were more indications that there were gold mines than in all the country they had traversed and viewed in that northern region.

Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range[6] and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain; and the next day, Wednesday, in a plain where they suffered from severe cold, although it was the 26th of May. There they crossed the river, wading up to their shins, by which later they were to depart in the brigantines they had made. This, when it reaches the sea, the chart indicates to be the Rio del Spiritu Santo (River of the Holy Spirit), which, according to the maps of the geographer Alonso de Chaves, empties into a great bay; and the mouth of this river, where the water is salt, is in 31 degrees north of the equator.[7]

[6] The Blue Ridge.

[7] The map of Alonso de Chaves, which was con-

Returning to my narrative, from this place where, as was said, they waded across the river, the woman chief of Cofitachequi, whom they carried with them in return for the good treatment which they had received from her, escaped; and that day there remained behind, it was supposed intentionally, Mendoça de Montanjes and Alaminos of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rear-guard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they waited for them one day. When they arrived, the Governor wished to hang them. In that region of Xalaque was left a comrade whose name was Rodriquez, a native of Peñafiel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Vi-

structed in 1536, is no longer extant. It is described by Oviedo, whose data are summarized by Harrisse *(Discovery of North America,* 633-34). J. G. Shea (in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* II., 247) assumed that De Soto had this map and studied it; but in the judgment of the present editor the remarks in the text about Chaves' map are by Oviedo, and not derived from Ranjel's diary, and consequently by no means warrant the notion that De Soto and his officers "pored over the cosmography of Alonso de Chaves." The river which Oviedo erroneously identified as the Mississippi is supposed to have been either the Chattahoochee or the Coosa. *Cf.* Lowery *(Spanish Settlements,* 231).

llegas; and there was also left a slave belonging to Don Carlos, a Berber, well versed in Spanish; and also Gomez, a negro belonging to Vasco Gonçalez who spoke good Spanish. That Rodriquez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalaque. The next day they passed the night in an oak grove, and the day following along a large stream, which they crossed many times. The next day messengers of peace appeared and they arrived early at Guasili, and they gave them many tamemes, many little dogs and corn; and since this was a fine stopping place, the soldiers afterwards in throwing dice called out "the house of Guasuli," or, a good throw.

Monday, which was the last day of May, the Governor left Guasili and came with his army to an oak wood along the river; and the next day they crossed by Canasoga, and at night they slept in the open country. Wednesday they slept near a swamp, and that day they ate an enormous amount of mulberries. The next day, Thursday, they went along a large stream near the river which they had crossed in the plain where the woman chief went off. It was now very large. The next day, Friday, they came to a pine wood on the stream, where appeared peaceful Indians fom Chiaha and brought

corn. The next day, Saturday, in the morning the Spaniards crossed one arm of the river, which was very broad, and went into Chiaha, which is on an island in the same river.

It was Saturday, the 5th of June, that they entered Chiaha,[8] and since all the way from Xuala had been mountainous and the horses were tired and thin, and the Christians were also themselves worn out, it seemed best to tarry there and rest themselves; and they were given an abundance of corn, of which there was plenty of good quality, and they were also given an abundance of corn cakes,[9] and no end of oil from walnuts and acorns, which they knew how to extract very well,[10] which was very good and contributed much to their diet. Yet some say that the oil from nuts produces flatulence. However, it is

[8] In northern Georgia. Formerly placed near Rome, but by Mooney near Columbus. Lowery, 231.

[9] *Maçamorras.* The editor of Oviedo explains it as a kind of mush or porridge. For the various kinds of corn cakes made by the Southern Indian *cf.* C. C. Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians,* 45 and 316; also see Bartram *(Travels,* 239), for a kind of jelly made from the roots of the China briar.

[10] *Cf.* Bartram *(Travels,* 380) for the process. The Indian name was hiccory milk.

very delicious. The Indians spent fifteen days with the Christians in peace, and they played with them, and likewise among themselves. They swam with the Christians and helped them very much in every way. They ran away afterwards on Saturday, the 19th of the month, for something that the Governor asked of them; and, in short, it was because he asked for women. The next day in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains.

Monday, June 28, the Governor and his soldiers departed from Chiaha, and, passing through five or six villages, they spent the night in a pine grove near a village. There they had much labour in crossing a river which flowed with a strong current, and they made a bridge or support of the horses in the following manner, so that the foot soldiers should not be endangered, and it was this way: They put the horses in the river in line, head and tail, and they were as steady as they could be, and on each one his master, and they re-

ceived the force of the stream, and on the lower side, where the water was not so violent, the foot soldiers forded, holding on to the tails and stirrups, breast-pieces, and manes, one after the other. And in this way the whole army got across very well.

The next day, Tuesday, they passed through a village and took corn and went beyond to sleep in the open country. Wednesday they passed over a river and through a village and again over the river and slept in the open country. On Thursday the chief of Coste came out to receive them in peace, and took the Christians to sleep in a village of his; and he was offended because some soldiers provisioned themselves from, or, rather, robbed him of, some barbacoas of corn against his will. The next day, Thursday, on the road leading toward the principal village of Coste, he stole away and gave the Spaniards the slip and armed his people. Friday, the 2d of July, the Governor arrived at Coste. This village was on an island in the river, which there flows large, swift, and hard to enter.

And the Christians crossed the first branch with no danger to any of the soldiers, yet it was no small venture, and the Governor entered into the village careless and unarmed,

with some followers unarmed. And when the soldiers, as they were used to do, began to climb upon the barbacoas, in an instant the Indians began to take up clubs and seize their bows and arrows and to go to the open square.

The Governor commanded that all should be patient and endure for the evident peril in which they were, and that no one should put his hand on his arms; and he began to rate his soldiers and, dissembling, to give them some blows with a cudgel; and he cajoled the chief, and said to him that he did not wish the Christians to make him any trouble; and they would like to go out to the open part of the island to encamp. And the chief and his men went with him; and when they were at some distance from the village in an open place, the Governor ordered his soldiers to lay hands on the chief and ten or twelve of the principal Indians, and to put them in chains and collars; and he threatened them, and said that he would burn them all because they had laid hands on the Christians. From this place, Coste, the Governor sent two soldiers to view the province of Chisca, which was reputed very rich, toward the north, and they brought good news. There in Coste they found in the trunk of a tree as good honey and even better than could be had in Spain.

In that river were found some mussels that they gathered to eat, and some pearls. And they were the first these Christians saw in fresh water, although they are to be found in many parts of this land.

Friday, July 9, the commander and his army departed from Coste and crossed the other branch of the river and passed the night on its banks. And on the other side was Tali, and since the river flows near it and is large, they were not able to cross it. And the Indians, believing that they would cross, sent canoes and in them their wives and sons and clothes from the other side, away from the Christians; but they were all taken suddenly, and as they were going with the current, the Governor forced them all to turn back, which was the reason that this chief came in peace and took them across to the other side in his canoes, and gave the Christians what they had need of. And he did this also in his own land as they passed through it afterwards, and they were there Saturday and were given carriers and they set out Sunday and passed the night in the open country.

Monday they crossed a river and slept in the open country. Tuesday they crossed another river and Wednesday another large river and slept at Tasqui. During all the days of their march from Tali the chief of

Tali had corn and mazamorras[11] and cooked beans and every thing that could be brought from his villages bordering the way. Thursday they passed another small village, and then other villages, and Friday the Governor entered Coça.[12]

This chief is a powerful one and a ruler of a wide territory, one of the best and most abundant that they found in Florida. And the chief came out to receive the Governor in a litter covered with the white mantles of the country, and the litter was borne on the shoulders of sixty or seventy of his principal subjects, with no plebeian or common Indian among them; and those that bore him took turns by relays with great ceremonies after their manner.

There were in Coça many plums like the early ones of Seville, very good; both they and the trees were like those of Spain. There were also some wild apples like those called canavales in Extremadura, small in size. They remained there in Coça some days, in which the Indians went off and left their chief in the power of the Christians with some principal men, and the Spaniards went out to round them up, and they took many, and they put them in iron collars and chains. And

[11] *Cf.* above, p. 107.

[12] Generally placed in Talledega County, Ala.

verily, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses, it was a grievous thing to see. But God failed not to remember every evil deed, nor were they left unpunished, as this history will tell.

On Friday, August 20, the Governor and his people left Coça, and there stayed behind a Christian named Feryada, a Levantine; and they slept the next night beyond Talimachusy, and the next day in a heavy rain they went to Itaba, a large village along a fine river, and there they bought some Indian women, which were given them in exchange for looking-glasses and knives.

Monday, August 30, the Governor left Itaba, and came by nightfall to an oak wood; and the next day they were at Ulibahali, a very fine village close to a large river. And there were many Indians lying in wait for them planning to rescue the chief of Coça from the Christians because they were his subjects, and in order that the land should not rise in revolt nor refuse them supplies they took him with them, and they entered the village very cautiously.

And the chief of Coça ordered the Indians to lay aside their arms, and it was done; and they gave them carriers and twenty Indian women and were peaceful. A gentleman of Salamanca named Mancano left them there,

and it was not known whether he did so of his own will or whether he lost his way, as he kept by himself walking alone and melancholy. He had asked the other soldiers to leave him to himself before they missed him. This was not known for certain, but it was reported in the camp after he was gone. A negro, who spoke Spanish and who belonged to Captain Johan Ruiz Lobillo, was also missing.[13] His name was Johan Biscayan. The day that they left this village they ate many grapes as good as those grown in the vineyards of Spain. In Coça and further back they had eaten very good ones, but these of Ulibahali were the best. From this village of Ulibahali the Spaniards and their Governor departed on Thursday, September 2, and they passed the night at a small village near the river, and there they waited a day for Lobillo, who had gone back without permission to look for his negro. On his return the Governor rated him soundly. Sunday, they went on and spent the night in the open country, and the next day, Monday, they came to Tuasi, where they were given

[13] This negro and one of the other deserters lived among the Coças ten or twelve years, as the members of a Spanish expedition which came to the Coça country in 1560 were informed (Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 365).

carriers and thirty-two Indian women. Monday, the 13th of September, the Governor departed thence, and they slept in the open country. Tuesday they made another day's march and again spent the night in open country, but Wednesday they came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong.

The next day, Thursday, they slept at a new village close by a river, where the Spaniards rested the following day. On the next day, Saturday, they were at Talisi and they found the chief and his people gone. This village is extensive and abounding in corn and near a large river. And there a messenger came to them from Tascaluça, a powerful lord and one much feared in that land. And soon one of his sons appeared and the Governor ordered his men to mount and the horsemen to charge and the trumpets to be blown (more to inspire fear than to make

merry at their reception). And when those Indians returned the Commander sent two Christians with them instructed as to what they were to observe and to spy out so that they might take counsel and be forewarned.

September 25, came the chief of Talisi, and he gave what they asked, such as carriers, women, and supplies; and from that place they sent and released the chief of Coça, so that he might return to his land; and he went in anger and in tears because the Governor would not give up a sister of his that they took, and because they had taken him so far from his country.

Tuesday, October 5, they went on from Talisi and came to Casiste for the night. This was a small village by the river. The next day, Wednesday, they came to Caxa, a wretched village on the river banks on the direct line from Talisi to Tascaluça. And the next day, Thursday, they slept by the river; and on the other side of the stream was a village called Humati; and the next day, Friday, they came to another settlement, a new one named Uxapita; and the next day, Saturday, the force encamped in the open country, a league this side of the village of Tascaluça. And the Governor dispatched a messenger, and he returned with the reply that

he would be welcome whenever he wished to come.

The historian asked a very intelligent gentleman who was with this Governor, and who went with him through his whole expedition in this northern country, why, at every place they came to, this Governor and his army asked for those tamemes or Indian carriers, and why they took so many women and these not old nor the most ugly; and why, after having given them what they had, they held the chiefs and principal men; and why they never tarried nor settled in any region they came to, adding that such a course was not settlement or conquest, but rather disturbing and ravaging the land and depriving the natives of their liberty without converting or making a single Indian either a Christian or a friend. He replied and said: That they took these carriers or tamemes to keep them as slaves or servants to carry the loads of supplies which they secured by plunder or gift, and that some died, and others ran away or were tired out, so that it was necessary to replenish their numbers and to take more; and the women they desired both as servants and for their foul uses and lewdness, and that they had them baptized more on account of carnal intercourse with them than to teach them the faith; and that if they held the

chiefs and principal men captive, it was because it would keep their subjects quiet, so that they would not molest them when foraging or doing what they wished in their country; and that whither they were going neither the Governor nor the others knew, but that his purpose was to find some land rich enough to satiate his greed and to get knowledge of the great secrets this Governor said he had heard in regard to those regions according to much information he had received;[14] and as for stirring up the country and not settling it, nothing else could be done until they found a site that was satisfactory.

Oh, wicked men! Oh, devilish greed! Oh, bad consciences! Oh, unfortunate soldiers! that ye should not have understood the perils ye were to encounter, and how wasted would be your lives, and without rest your souls! That ye were not mindful of that truth which the blessed St. Augustine uttered in lamenting the miseries of this life, saying, this life is a life of misery, frail, and uncertain, full of toil and stain; a life, Lord, of ills, a kingdom of pride, full of miseries and terror, since it is not really life, nor can be called so, but rather death, for in a moment it is ended by various changes of fortune and

[14] *E. g.*, from Cabeça de Vaca. See Vol. I. p. 5.

divers kinds of deaths! Give ear, then, Catholic reader, and do not lament the conquered Indians less than their Christian conquerors or slayers of themselves, as well as others, and follow the adventures of this Governor, ill governed, taught in the School of Pedrarias de Avila, in the scattering and wasting of the Indians of Castilla del Oro; a graduate in the killing of the natives of Nicaragua and canonized in Peru as a member of the order of the Pizarros; and then, after being delivered from all those paths of Hell and having come to Spain loaded with gold, neither a bachelor nor married, knew not how nor was able to rest without returning to the Indies to shed human blood, not content with what he had spilled; and to leave life as shall be narrated, and providing the opportunity for so many sinners deluded with his vain words to perish after him. See what he wanted most of what that queen or woman chief of Cofitachequi, lady of Talimeco, offered him when she told him that in that place of hers he would find so many pearls that all the horses in the army could not carry them off; and, when she received him so courteously, see how he treated her. Let us proceed, and forget not this truth which you have read, how as a proof of the number of pearls which were offered him, this Governor and his

people took over two hundred pounds, and you will know what enjoyment they got out of them in the sequel.

CHAPTER VII

In which is related what happened to the Commander Hernando de Soto, in his intercourse with the Chief of Tascaluca named Actahachi, who was such a tall Man that he seemed a Giant; and also of the Skirmishes and tough Battles, and the Assault made upon the Christians in the Village called Mabila and further on in Chicaça. And other Incidents noteworthy and appropriate to the History narrated in this Chapter.

Sunday, October 10, the Governor entered the village of Tascaluça, which is called Athahachi, a recent village. And the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square, his head covered by a kind of coif like the almaizal, so that his head-dress was like a Moor's which gave him an aspect of authority; he also wore a *pelote* or mantle of feathers down to his feet, very imposing; he was seated on some high cushions, and many of the principal men among his Indians were with him. He was as tall as that Tony of the Emperor, our lord's guard, and well proportioned, a fine and

comely figure of a man. He had a son, a young man as tall as himself but more slender. Before this chief there stood always an Indian of graceful mien holding a parasol on a handle something like a round and very large fly fan, with a cross similar to that of the Knights of the Order of St. John of Rhodes, in the middle of a black field, and the cross was white. And although the Governor entered the plaza and alighted from his horse and went up to him, he did not rise, but remained passive in perfect composure and as if he had been a king.

The Governor remained seated with him a short time, and after a little he arose and said that they should come to eat, and he took him with him and the Indians came to dance; and they danced very well in the fashion of rustics in Spain, so that it was pleasant to see them. At night he desired to go, and the commander told him that he must sleep there. He understood it and showed that he scoffed at such an intention for him, being the lord, to receive so suddenly restraints upon his liberty, and dissembling, he immediately despatched his principal men each by himself, and he slept there notwithstanding his reluctance. The next day the Governor asked him for carriers and a hundred Indian women; and the chief gave him four hundred carriers and the rest

of them and the women he said he would give at Mabila, the province of one of his principal vassals. And the Governor acquiesced in having the rest of that unjust request of his fulfilled in Mabila; and he ordered him to be given a horse and some buskins and a scarlet cloak for him to ride off happy. And now that the chief had given him four hundred carriers. or rather slaves, and was to give him in Mabila a hundred women, and what they were most in need of, see how happy he could be made with those buskins and the cloak and with riding on a horse when he felt as if he were mounted on a tiger or a most savage lion, since this people held horses in the greatest terror!

At last, Tuesday, October 12, they departed from that village of Atahachi, taking along the chief as has been said and with him many principal men and always the Indian with the sunshade attending his lord, and another with a cushion. And that night they slept in the open country. The next day, Wednesday, they came to Piachi, which is a village high above the gorge of a mountain stream; and the chief of this place was evil intentioned, and attempted to resist their passage; and as a result, they crossed the stream with effort, and two Christians were slain, and also the principal Indians who

accompanied the chief. In this village, Piachi, it was learned that they had killed Don Teodoro and a black, who came from the ships of Pamphilo de Narvaez.

Saturday, October 16, they departed thence into a mountain where they met one of the two Christians whom the Governor had sent to Mabila, and he said that in Mabila there had gathered together much people in arms. The next day they came to a fenced village, and there came messengers from Mabila bringing to the chief much bread made from chestnuts, which are abundant and excellent in that region.

Monday, October 18, St. Luke's day, the Governor came to Mabila,[1] having passed that day by several villages, which was the reason that the soldiers stayed behind to forage and to scatter themselves, for the region appeared populous. And there went on with the Governor only forty horsemen as an advance guard, and after they had tarried a little, that the Governor might not show weakness, he entered into the village with the chief, and all his guard went in with him. Here the Indians immediately began an areyto,[2] which is their fashion for a ball with dancing and

[1] Placed somewhat above the head of Mobile Bay. *Cf.* Lowery *(Spanish Settlements,* 233).

[2] A West Indian word for an Indian dance.

song. While this was going on some soldiers saw them putting bundles of bows and arrows slyly among some palm leaves, and other Christians saw that above and below[3] the cabins were full of people concealed. The Governor was informed of it and he put his helmet on his head and ordered all to go and mount their horses and warn all the soldiers that had come up. Hardly had they gone out when the Indians took the entrances of stockade, and there were left with the Governor, Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos, and Espindola, the Captain of the Guard, and seven or eight soldiers. And the chief went into a cabin and refused to come out of it. Then they began to shoot arrows at the Governor. Baltasar de Gallegos went in for the chief, he not being willing to come out. He disabled the arm of a principal Indian with the slash of a knife. Luis de Moscoso waited at the door, so as not to leave him alone, and he was fighting like a knight and did all that was possible until, not being able to endure any more, he cried: "Señor Baltasar de Gallegos, come out, or I will leave you, for I cannot wait any longer for you." During this, Solis, a resident of Triana of

[3] See Bartram's *Travels*, 189-90, for a description of the cabins of the Alachua Indians, which had an open loft at one end.

Seville, had ridden up, and Rodrigo Ranjel, who were the first, and for his sins Solis was immediately stricken down dead; but Rodrigo Ranjel got to the gate of the town at the time when the Governor went out, and two soldiers of his guard with him, and after him came more than seventy Indians who were held back for fear of Rodrigo Ranjel's horse, and the Governor, desiring to charge them, a negro brought up his horse; and he told Rodrigo Ranjel to give aid to the Captain of the Guard, who was left behind, for he had come out quite used up, and a soldier of the Guard with him; and he with a horse faced the enemy until he got out of danger, and Rodrigo Ranjel returned to the Governor and had him draw out more than twenty arrows which he bore fastened in his armour, which was a loose coat quilted with coarse cotton. And he ordered Ranjel to watch for Solis, to rescue him from the enemy that they should not carry him inside. And the Governor went to collect the soldiers. There was great valour and shame that day among all those that found themselves in this first attack and beginning of this unhappy day; for they fought to admiration and each Christian did his duty as a most valiant soldier. Luis de Moscoso and Baltasar de Gallegos came out with the rest of the soldiers by another gate.

As a result, the Indians were left with the village and all the property of the Christians, and with the horses that were left tied inside, which they killed immediately. The Governor collected all of the forty horse that were there and advanced to a large open place before the principal gate of Mabila. There the Indians rushed out without venturing very far from the stockade, and to draw them on the horsemen made a feint of taking flight at a gallop, withdrawing far from the walls. And the Indians believing it to be real, came away from the village and the stockade in pursuit, greedy to make use of their arrows. And when it was time the horsemen wheeled about on the enemy, and before they could recover themselves, killed many with their lances. Don Carlos wanted to go with his horse as far as the gate, and they gave the horse an arrow shot in the breast. And not being able to turn, he dismounted to draw out the arrow, and then another came which hit him in the neck above the shoulder, at which, seeking confession, he fell dead. The Indians no longer dared to withdraw from the stockade. Then the Commander invested them on every side until the whole force had come up; and they went up on three sides to set fire to it, first cutting the stockade with axes. And the fire in its course burned the

two hundred odd pounds of pearls that they had, and all their clothes and ornaments, and the sacramental cups, and the moulds for making the wafers, and the wine for saying the mass; and they were left like Arabs, completely stripped, after all their hard toil. They had left in a cabin the Christian women, which were some slaves belonging to the Governor; and some pages, a friar, a priest, a cook, and some soldiers defended themselves very well against the Indians, who were not able to force an entrance before the Christians came with the fire and rescued them. And all the Spaniards fought like men of great courage, and twenty-two died, and one hundred and forty-eight others received six hundred and eighty-eight arrow wounds, and seven horses were killed and twenty-nine others wounded. Women and even boys of four years of age fought with the Christians; and Indian boys hanged themselves not to fall into their hands, and others jumped into the fire of their own accord. See with what good will those carriers acted. The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an auger, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance.

On that day there died Don Carlos, and Francis de Soto, the nephew of the Governor, and Johan de Gamez de Jaen, and Men Rodriguez, a fine Portugues gentleman, and Espinosa, a fine gentleman, and another named Velez, and one Blasco de Barcarrota, and many other honoured soldiers; and the wounded comprised all the men of most worth and honour in the army. They killed three thousand of the vagabonds without counting many others who were wounded and whom they afterwards found dead in the cabins and along the roads. Whether the chief was dead or alive was never known. The son they found thrust through with a lance.

After the end of the battle as described, they rested there until the 14th of November, caring for their wounds and their horses, and they burned over much of the country. And up to the time when they left there, the total deaths from the time the Governor and his forces entered the land of Florida, were one hundred and two Christians, and not all, to my thinking, in true repentance.

Sunday, November 14, of the year already mentioned, the Governor left Mabila, and the Wednesday following came to a fine river. Thursday, the 28th,[4] their way lay over bad places and through swamps, and they

[4] This should be the 18th.

found a village with corn which was named Talicpacana. The Christians had discovered on the other side of the river a village which appeared to them from a distance to be finely situated.

On Sunday, the 21st of November, Vasco Gonçalez found a village half a league distant from this named Moçulixa, from which they had transported all the corn to the other side of the river and had piled it in heaps covered with mats; and the Indians were across the river, and were making threats. A barge was constructed which was finished the 29th of the month, and they made a large truck to carry it to Moçulixa; and when it was launched in the water sixty soldiers embarked in it. The Indians shot countless darts, or rather arrows. But when this great canoe reached the shore they took flight, and not more than three or four Christians were wounded. The country was easily secured, and they found an abundance of corn.

The next day, Wednesday, the whole force came to a village which was called Zabusta, and there they crossed the river in the boat and with some canoes that they had found in that place; and they tarried for the night in another village on the other side, because up above they found a fine one, and took the chief, whose name was Apafalaya, and carried

him along as guide and interpreter; and this stream was called the river Apafalaya. From this river and town the Governor and his army set out in search of Chicaça on Thursday, December 9. The following Tuesday they arrived at the river of Chicaça, having traversed many bad passages and swamps and cold rivers.

And that you may know, reader, what sort of a life these Spaniards led, Rodrigo Ranjel, an eye-witness, says that among many other great hardships that men endured in this undertaking he saw a knight named Don Antonio Osorio, brother of the Lord Marquis of Astorga, wearing a short garment of the blankets of that country, torn on the sides, his flesh showing, no hat, bare-headed, barefooted, without hose or shoes, a buckler on his back, a sword without a shield, amidst heavy frosts and cold. And the stuff of which he was made and his illustrious lineage made him endure his toil without laments such as many others made, for there was no one who could help him, although he was the man he was, and had in Spain two thousand ducats of income through the Church. And the day that this gentleman saw him he did not believe that he had eaten a mouthful, and he had to dig for it with his nails to get something to eat.

I could hardly help laughing when I heard

that this knight had left the Church and the income above mentioned to go in search of such a life as this, at the sound of the words of De Soto; because I knew Soto very well, and, although he was a man of worth, I did not suppose that he was so winning a talker or so clever, as to be able to delude such persons. What was it that a man like him[5] wanted of a land unexplored and unknown? Nor did the Captain that took him know anything more than that in this land had perished Johan Ponce de Leon and the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Allyón and Pamphilo de Narvaez and others abler than Hernando de Soto. And those that follow such guides have to go in that manner,[6] since they found regions where they were able to make a settlement and rest and gradually push in and make their inferences and learn the country. But let us proceed, for the toil of this knight is little compared with those that are dying and escape.[7]

The river of Chicaça they found overflowing its bed, and the Indians on the other side in arms with many white flags. Orders were

[5] *I. e.*, Osorio.

[6] There seems to be an ellipsis of something like this: but it need not have been so with a different leader since, etc.

[7] À respecto de los que mueren, sino se salvan.

given to make a barge, and the Governor sent Baltasar de Gallegos with thirty horsemen, swimmers, to search the river up above for a good crossing place, and to fall suddenly upon the Indians; and it was perceived, and they forsook the passage and they crossed over very comfortably in the barge on Thursday, the 16th of the month. And the Governor went on ahead with some horsemen, and they arrived late at night at a village of the lord which had been deserted by all the people. The next day Baltasar de Gallegos appeared with the thirty that went with him, and they spent that Christmas in Chicaça,[8] and there was a snowstorm with a heavy fall of snow, just as if they had been in Burgos, and the cold was as severe, or more so. On Monday, January 3, 1541, the chief of Chicaça came proffering peace, and promptly gave the Christians guides and interpreters to go to Caluça, a place of much repute among the Indians. Caluça is a province of more than ninety villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section. In Chicaça the Governor ordered that half of his army make war on Sacchuma; and on their return the Chief Miculasa made peace,

[8] In Mississippi, near the headwaters of the Yazoo and Tombigbee rivers. *Cf.* Lowery, 236.

and messengers came from Talapatica. In the meantime, while this war was going on, the time came to march, and they asked the chief for carriers; and the Indians raised such a tumult among themselves that the Christians understood it; and the settlement was that they would give them on the 4th of March, when they had to start, and that on that day they would come with them. On the evening of that day the Governor mounted his horse and found the Indians evilly disposed, and realizing their dangerous intentions he returned to the camp and said in public: "To-night is an Indian night. I shall sleep armed and my horse saddled." And they all said that they would do the same, and he called the Master of the Camp, who was Luis de Moscoso, and told him that they should take extra precautions that night in regard to the sentinels, since it was the last. The Governor as he went away from where he left those soldiers to whom he had given these warnings, lay down undressed on his couch, and neither was his horse saddled nor any other, and all those in the camp lay down to sleep without precautions and unarmed. The Master of the Camp put on the morning watch three horsemen, the most useless and with the poorest horses in the army. And on the day before mentioned, the 4th of March,

when the Indian carriers had been promised them, at dawn, the Indians, fulfilling their word, entered the camp in many detachments, beating drums as if it had been in Italy, and setting fire to the camp, they burned and captured fifty-nine horses, and three of them they shot through both shoulders with arrows.

And the Christians were like heedless people on this occasion; and few arms, coats-of-mail, lances and saddles remained after the fire; and all the horses had run off, escaping the fire and the noise. Only the commander was able to mount his horse, and they did not fasten the horse's girth, nor did he buckle his coat of arms, and Tapia de Valladolid was with him; and he fell over the first Indian that he thrust at who had thrust at him, saddle and all,[9] and if the Indians had known how to follow up their victory, this would have been the last day of the lives of all the Christians of that army, and made an end of the demand for carriers.[10]

Next the Spaniards went to a plain, a league from that village where they were; and they had cabins and supplies, and they set up the

[9] Garcilaso characteristically makes De Soto fight an hour with the saddle girth unfastened! *(La Florida,* 167.)

[10] See below, p. 153, for Alonso de Carmona's account of another narrow escape the Spaniards had three days later.

camp on a sloping hillside. And they made haste to set up a forge, and they made bellows of bear skins, and they retempered their arms, and made new frames for their saddles, and they provided themselves with lances for there were in that place very good ash-trees. And within a week they had everything repaired. There were slain in Chicaça and burned alive twelve Christians.

Tuesday, March 15, the morning watch, the Indians returned upon the Christians, determined to finish them up, and attacked them on three sides; and as necessity had made them cautious, and, as they were informed and on the watch, they fought with them bravely and put the Indians to flight. And it pleased God that the Christians should not suffer much loss, and few Indians perished. Some Spaniards displayed great valour that day, and no one failed to do his duty. And unfortunate was he on that occasion who did not well defend his life and who failed to prove to the enemy the quality and arms of the Christians.

CHAPTER VIII

IN WHICH THE HISTORY NARRATES ANOTHER ENCOUNTER AT A BARRICADE, IN WHICH THE COMMANDER FOUGHT WITH THE INDIANS; AND HOW HE CAME TO A VERY LARGE RIVER WHICH THE CHRISTIANS CROSSED; AND OF THE NARRATION AND DISCOURSE WHICH THE CHIEF OF CASQUI DELIVERED IN FAVOUR OF THE CROSS AND THE FAITH IN THE PRESENCE OF THE COMMANDER AND THE CHRISTIANS; AND OF THE CONTENTION OF THIS CHIEF WITH ANOTHER, HIS ENEMY, NAMED PACAHA, AS TO WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE PRECEDENCE. THEIR DEPARTURE FROM UTIANGÜE, AND MANY OTHER NOTABLE INCIDENTS.

TUESDAY, April 26, in the year aforesaid, 1541, the Governor Hernando de Soto set out from the plain of Chicaça, and arrived at Limamu for the night; and there they searched for corn, because the Indians had hidden it, and they had to pass over a desert. And Thursday they came to another plain where the Indians had taken the position, having made a very strong barricade, and within it there were many Indian braves, painted red and decorated with other colours which appeared very fine (or rather, very bad, at least it meant harm to the Christians). And they entered the barricade by force, and with some loss by death and wounds on the part of the Commander and his army, and with a loss

greater beyond comparison on the part of the conquered; and it would have been still more if the Indians had not taken flight.

Saturday, the last of April, the army set out from the place of the barricade and marched nine days through a deserted country and by a rough way, mountainous and swampy, until May 8, when they came to the first village of Quizqui, which they took by assault and captured much people and clothes; but the Governor promptly restored them to liberty and had everything restored to them for fear of war, although that was not enough to make friends of these Indians. A league beyond this village they came upon another with abundance of corn, and soon again after another league, upon another likewise amply provisioned. There they saw the great river.[1] Saturday, May 21, the force went along to a plain between the river and a small village, and set up quarters and began to build four barges to cross over to the other side. Many of these conquerors said this river was larger than the Danube.

On the other side of the river, about seven thousand Indians had got together, with about two hundred canoes, to defend the passage. All of them had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely inter-

[1] The Mississippi.

woven with such thread that a cross-bow could hardly pierce them. The arrows came raining down so that the air was full of them, and their yells were something fearful. But when they saw that the work on the barges did not relax on their account, they said that Pacaha, whose men they were, ordered them to withdraw, and so they left the passage free. And on Saturday, June 8,[2] the whole force crossed this great river in the four barges and gave thanks to God because in His good pleasure nothing more difficult could confront them.[3] Soon, on Sunday, they came to a village of Aquixo.

Tuesday, June 21, they went from there and passed by the settlement of Aquixo, which is very beautiful, or beautifully situated. The next day, Wednesday, they passed through the worst tract for swamps and water that they had found in all Florida, and on that day the toil of the soldiers was very heavy.

The next day following, Thursday, they entered the land of Quarqui, and passed through small villages; and the next day, Friday, St. John's day, they came to the village of the Lord of Casqui, who gave food and clothing to the army. It was Saturday when

[2] This should be June 18.

[3] The crossing is supposed to have taken place below Memphis and above the mouth of the Arkansas.

they entered his village, and it had very good cabins, and, in the principal one, over the door, were many heads of very fierce bulls, just as in Spain, noblemen who are sportsmen mount the heads of wild boars or bears. There the Christians planted the cross on a mound, and they received it and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed. Their faith, says Rodrigo Ranjel, would have surpassed that of the conquerors if they had been taught, and would have brought forth more fruit than those conquerors did.

Sunday, June 26, they departed thence to go to Pacaha, an enemy of Casqui; and after passing several villages, they spent the night in one. And the following day they crossed a swamp over which the Indians had thrown a well-constructed bridge, broad and very cleverly built. On Wednesday they came to the village of Pacaha, a village and lord of wide repute and highly thought of in that country.

This town was a very good one, thoroughly well stockaded; and the walls were furnished with towers and a ditch round about, for the most part full of water which flows in by a canal from the river; and this ditch was full of excellent fish of divers kinds. The chief of Casqui came to the Christians when they

were entering the village and they entertained him bravely. In Aquixo, and Casqui, and Pacaha, they saw the best villages seen up to that time, better stockaded and fortified, and the people were of finer quality, excepting those of Cofitachequi. The Commander and his soldiers remaining some days in Pacaha, they made some incursions further up country.

And the chief of Casqui, on one occasion, when he saw a chance for it, went off without seeking permission, on account of which the Governor tried to secure peace with Pacaha; and he came to the camp to recover a brother of his whom the Christians had taken when they entered the village; and an agreement was made with Pacaha that they should war against Casqui, which was very gratifying to Pacaha. But Casqui got wind of this resolve and came with fifty Indians of his in fine array, and he brought a clown for display, who said and did much that was amusing, making those who saw him laugh a good deal. The Governor assumed an air of irritation and sternness to please Pacaha, and sent word that Casqui should not come into the village. Casqui replied that he would not refrain from coming even if they cut off his head. Pacaha asked the Governor to allow him to give Casqui a slash in the face with a knife that he had in his hand, which the Christians had

given him. But the Governor told Pacaha that he should do no such thing, nor do him any harm, for he would be angry at him; and he ordered Casqui to come so as to see what he wanted, and because he wished to ask him the reason why he had gone without his permission. Casqui came and spoke to the Governor as follows:—as it was reported by the interpreter Johan Ortiz and the other Indian interpreters that the Governor and the Christians had—"How is it, my Lord, possible, that after having given me the pledge of friendship, and without my having done any harm to you, or given any occasion, you desire to destroy me, your friend and brother? You gave me the cross for a defence against my enemies, and with it you seek to destroy me." (This he said because the Indians of Pacaha, his enemy, that went with the Christians, against him, wore crosses on their heads, high up, that they might be seen.) "Now, my Lord," said Casqui, "when God has heard us by means of the cross; when the women and boys and all those of my country threw themselves on their knees before it to pray for water to the God who you said suffered on it; and He heard us and gave us water in great abundance and refreshed our corn-fields and plantations; now, when we had the most faith in it and in your friend-

ship, you desired to destroy these boys and women that are so devoted to you and your God. Why did you desire to use us with such cruelty without our deserving it from you? Why did you desire to destroy the faith and confidence which we had in you? Why did you desire to offend your God and us, when for Him, and in His name, you gave us assurances and received us for friends, and we gave you entire confidence and trust in the same God and His cross, and have it for our safeguard and protection, and hold it in the reverence and veneration which is proper? With what object or purpose were you actuated to do, or even to think of a thing so grievous against a people without blame, and friends of the cross and of yours?"

This said, he held his peace. The Governor, his eyes melting and not without trace of tears, considering the faith and words of this chief, replied to him, through the interpreters, in the presence of many of the Christian soldiers, who, attentively, and not without tears, overcome by such goodness and faith, had heard what was said, and spoke as follows: "Look you, Casqui, we are not come to destroy you, but to do for you what you know and understand is the work of the cross and our God, as you tell me. And these favours, which it has bestowed upon you, are

a small thing in comparison with many others and very great ones, which it will secure you if you love it and believe in it. Be assured of this, and you will find it so and realize it better every day. And when you ran off without my permission I thought that you held the teaching we had given you of little account, and for that contempt that you had for it I wanted to destroy you; supposing that in pride you had gone off, for that is the thing which our God most abhors, and for which He punishes us the most. Now that you have come in humility, be assured that I wish you more good than you think; and if you have need of anything from me, tell me of it and you will see, since we do what our God commands us, which is not to lie; and, therefore, believe that I tell you the truth, since to speak a lie is a very great sin amongst us. For this good-will be not grateful to me or mine, since if you hold what you say, God, our Lord, commands that we love you as a brother, and that we treat you as such because you and yours are our brethren, and such is the injunction of our God."

The Indians, as much as the Christians, had heard with wonder what Casqui had said. It was now the hour for dinner and the commander sat down and ordered both chiefs to be seated. And between them there

was much contention, as to which of them should sit on the right hand of the Governor. Pacaha said to Casqui: "You know well that I am a greater lord than you, and of more honourable parents and grandparents, and that to me belongs a higher place." Casqui replied as follows: "True it is that you are a greater lord than I, and that your forbears were greater than mine. And since this great lord here tells us that we must not lie, I will not deny the truth. But you know well that I am older and mightier than you, and that I confine you in your walls whenever I wish, and you never have seen my country." Finally this was left to the Governor to settle and he ordered that Pacaha should be seated on his right hand because he was a greater lord and more ancient in rank, and he showed in his good customs more of the manners of the courtier after their fashion.

Casqui had brought a daughter, a fine young girl, to the Governor. Pacaha gave him one of his wives, blooming, and very worthy; and he gave him a sister and another Indian woman of rank. The Governor made them friends and embraced them and ordered that there should be merchandising and business between one country and the other, and they agreed to it. And after this the Governor departed thence the 29th of July.

But I could wish that along with the excellencies of the cross and of the faith that this Governor explained to these chiefs, he had told them that he was married, and that the Christians ought not to have more than one wife, or to have intercourse with another, or to commit adultery; that he had not taken the daughter whom Casqui gave him, nor the wife and sister and the other woman of rank whom Pacaha gave him; and that they had not got the idea that the Christians, like the Indians, could have as many wives and concubines as they desired, and thus, like the Indians, live as adulterers.

Let us pass on. To my thinking it would have been better after baptizing a chief of so much intelligence as Casqui, and making him and his people Christians, to have remained there, than to go on to what the history will relate. Nor do I approve of their having gone further than to Cofitachequi, for the same reason, and on account of what was said of that land. However, this army and its Governor having departed, they came by nightfall to a village of Casqui. And the next day to the principal village of the same lord of Casqui, which they had already passed. And they departed from there Sunday, the last day of that month and came to a village of that province. And Monday, August 1, they came

to another village, which is on the river of Casqui, which is a branch of the great river of Pacaha, and this branch is as large as the Guadalquivir. Thither came Casqui and assisted them across the river in canoes, August 2.

On Wednesday, they slept in a burned village. The next day, Thursday, in another near the river, where there were many pumpkins and an abundance of corn, and beans. And the next day, Friday, they came to Quiguate, which is the largest village which they saw in that country, situated on the river of Casqui; and it was later known that the banks of this river were thickly populated further down (although they did not find it out there) and along it they took the trail of Coligua which was not peopled in the intervening country.

Friday, August 26, they left Quiguate in search of Coligua and passed the night by a swamp, and from swamp to swamp they made a journey over four swamps and days' marches; and in these swamps, or pools, there was no end of fish, because all that country is flooded by the great river when it overflows its banks. And, Tuesday, they came to the river of Coligua, and, Wednesday, likewise, to the same river. And the next day, Thursday, September 1, to the town of Coligua; and

they found it populated, and from it they took much people and clothes, and a vast amount of provisions and much salt. It was a pretty village, between some ridges along the gorge of a great river. And from there, at midday, they went to kill some cows, of which there are very many wild ones.

Tuesday, the 6th of September, they left Coligua and crossed the river again, and Wednesday they passed some mountains and came to Calpista, where there was an excellent salt spring which distilled very good salt in deposits. The Thursday following they came to Palisma, and on Saturday, September 10, they went on to encamp by a water; and Sunday they came to Quixila, where they rested over Monday. Tuesday they went on to Tutilcoya, and Wednesday, to a village along a large river. And Thursday they encamped near a swamp. And the Governor went on ahead with some horsemen, and came to Tanico, and the next day they came to the same settlement of Tanico, which was built in a somewhat scattered fashion, but was very abundantly provided with supplies. Some would have it that it was Cayase, of which they had heard much, a large stockaded town, but they were never able to see that place or discover it; and subsequently they were told that they had left it near the river.

From there the Governor, with thirteen horsemen and fifty foot, went on to see Tula, and he returned from there in a hurry, and the Indians killed one horse and wounded four or five, and he resolved to go there with the army. One ought not to omit and leave in forgetfulness that in Cayase our Spaniards gathered baskets of dry sand from the river and strained water through it, and there came out a brine, and they boiled it down, and let it harden, and in that way made excellent salt, very white and of very good flavour.

Wednesday, October 5, they departed from the station of Tanico, and came, Friday, to Tula, and found the inhabitants gone, but abundant provisions. On Saturday, in the morning, the Indians came to give them a brush, or a battle, and they had large, long poles, like lances, the ends hardened by fire, and they were the best fighting people that the Christians met with, and they fought like desperate men, with the greatest valour in the world. That day they wounded Hernandarias, the grandson of the marshal of Seville, and, thank God, the Christians defended themselves so valiantly that they did not receive much damage, although the Indians tried to round up the whole force.

Wednesday, October 19, the army and the Governor departed from Tula, and passed the

night at two cabins. And the next day, Thursday, at another cabin, and Friday, at another, where Hernandarias de Saavedra, who had been wounded at Tula, died in convulsions; and he died like a Catholic knight, commending his soul to God. The next day they came to Guipana, which is between ridges of mountains near a river; and from there they went for the night to a place where they could cross over, and all the country was mountainous from Tula. The next day they left the mountain and came on to the plains and Monday the last day of the month, they came to a village called Quitamaya, and Tuesday, the 1st of November, they went through a small village; and Wednesday, the 2d of November, they came to Utiangüe, which was a plain well peopled and of attractive appearance.[3] . . . .

[3] The manuscript of Book XVII. of Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* breaks off at this point, leaving the chapter unfinished.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS XXIX. AND XXX., WHICH ARE NOT KNOWN TO BE EXTANT.

CHAPTER XXIX. (Chapter IX. as given in the text).—Of the death of the Governor Hernando de Soto, and how Luis de Moscoso was sworn in and obeyed in his place; and the story of the toils of the conquerors, and other matters. The challenge of the Chief Quigudta to the Christians.

Springs from which salt is made.

Hot streams and the salt made from the sand.

Savage and warlike people. How the Christians built seven brigantines to go away and leave the land. How they left it, and of the freshet in a river that lasted forty-three days.

CHAPTER XXX.—What happened to the people that survived the Governor Hernando de Soto, and other facts; of the animals of this country, and of the wonderful animal called Sawyer.

And of the fish, particularly that called Spade-fish; of the fruits of that country; of the liquid-amber trees, and the sable furs, and many other facts.

FRAGMENTS FROM ALONSO DE CARMONA AND JUAN COLES

Alonso de Carmona, in his *Peregrinacion*, remarks in particular upon the fierceness of the Indians of the Province of Apalache, of whom he writes as follows, his words being exactly quoted: Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Nervaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood

and take the Spaniards' scalp, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." Thus Alonso de Carmona.—*La Florida del Inca,* 107.

Alonso de Carmona, on how the Indians were baffled in an attempt to destroy the Spaniards after the Disaster at Chicaça.

"We were there three days, and at the end of that time the Indians resolved to return upon us and to conquer or to die, and of a surety, I make no doubt, that if that resolution had been carried into effect they would have cut us off to the last one on account of our lack of arms and saddles. But it was God's good pleasure when they were about a quarter of a league off, getting ready for the attack, that there came a tremendous shower, which God sent from His sky, and wet their bow strings so that they could not do anything, and so they turned back. And the next day in going over the ground they found traces of them, and they took an Indian who explained to us all that the Indians were coming to do and that they had sworn by their gods to die in the attempt. And the Governor perceiving this, decided to move on and to go to Chicacilla, where, forthwith, in great haste, we made shields, lances, and saddles, for in such times necessity makes masters of all. We made bellows of two bear skins, and with the gun barrels we rigged up our forge and tempered our arms and made the best provision we could."—*La Florida del Inca,* 170.

Alonso de Carmona, on their Experiences in the Gulf of Mexico.

At this point (*i. e.* when the Spaniards entered the Gulf of Mexico) Alonso de Carmona says these words, which are literally quoted: "And so we sailed along the coast feeling our way because all the apparatus for navigation was burned by the Indians or by ourselves when we set fire to Mauvila; and Captain Juan de Añasco was a very careful man, and he took the astrolabe and kept it, and as it was of metal it was not much damaged; and from a parchment of deer skin he made a chart, and from a carpenter's rule he made a fore-staff, and by it we directed our course. And when the sailors and others saw that he was not a seaman, nor had ever set sail in his life except for this expedition, they laughed at him; and when he knew how they laughed at him he threw the things overboard, except the astrolabe. And those on the other brigantine behind picked them up as the chart and the fore-staff were tied together. And so we marched, or rather sailed seven or eight days, and in bad weather we betook ourselves to some inlet."—*La Florida del Inca,* 250-51.

The accounts by Juan Coles and Alonso de Carmona of the Reception of the Spaniards in Mexico.

Juan Coles says, at this point, that a gentleman of importance, a citizen of Mexico named Xaramillo, took into his house eighteen men, all from Estremadura, and he clothed them with the fine broadcloth of Segovia, and that to each one of he gave a bed with mattresses, sheets, and blankets and pillows, a comb and brush, and every thing else needful for a soldier, and that all the city was greatly pained to see them come clothed with deerskins and cow [buffalo] skins, and that they did them this honour and kindness for the many labours they knew they had undergone in Florida. On the other hand, they did not care to show any favours to those that had been with Captain Juan Vazquez Coronado, a resident of Mexico, to discover the Seven Cities, because, without any necessity, they had returned to Mexico without desiring to make a settlement. These had returned shortly before we did."

Alonso de Carmona.

"I have already said that we came from Panuco in squads of fifteen to twenty soldiers, and in that way we entered the great City of Mexico, and we did not enter in one day, but in four, because each squad went in by itself; and so great was the kindness that was shown us in that city that I shall not know how to do it justice here. When a squad of the soldiers entered, those citizens would immediately repair to the Plaza, and he who got there quickest thought it great good fortune, because every one was desirous to outdo the others; and so they took them to their houses and gave to each one a bed for himself and ordered cloth enough brought to clothe them with the black broadcloth of Segovia, and they clothed them and gave them every thing else that was necessary, such as thick shirts, doublets, caps (gorras), hats, knives, scissors, cloths for mufflers and caps (bonnets), even combs to comb their hair. And after they had clothed them they took them with them on Sunday to mass and after they had eaten with them they said to them: 'Brothers, the land is broad. Make good use of it, where you may; let each seek his own remedy.' There was there a man of Estremadura whose name was Xaramillo, who went to the Plaza and found

a squad of twenty soldiers and among them a relative and he treated him and all so very well that no one gave him (*i. e.,* the relative) odds.

All those of my squad decided to go to pay their respects to the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoça, and although other residents were taking us to their houses we would not go with them. And he, after we had paid our respects, ordered that we should be given something to eat. And they lodged us in a large hall, and to each one they gave a bed with mattresses, sheets, pillows and blankets, all new. And he gave orders that we should not go hence until they clothed us. And after we were clothed, we paid him our respects and departed, thanking him for the favour and kindness which he had shown us. And we all went to Peru, not so much for its wealth as on account the contests there were there when Gonçalo Piçarro began to make himself Governor and lord of the land." With this Alonso de Carmona brought the narrative of his travels to a close and all these are his words literally quoted.—*La Florida del Inca,* 260.

LETTER OF HERNANDO DE SOTO AT TAMPA BAY TO THE JUSTICE AND BOARD OF MAGISTRATES IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA.[1]

VERY NOBLE GENTLEMEN:

THE being in a new country, not very distant indeed from that where you are, still with some sea between, a thousand years appear to me to have gone by since any thing has been heard from you; and although I left some letters written at Havana, to go off in three ways, it is indeed long since I have received one. However, since opportunity offers by which I may send an account of what it is always my duty to give, I will relate what passes, and I believe will be welcome to persons I know favourably, and are earnest for my success.

I took my departure from Havana with all my armament on Sunday, the XVIIIth of May, although I wrote that I should leave on the XXVth of the month. I anticipated the day, not to lose a favourable wind, which changed, nevertheless, for calms, upon our getting into the Gulf; still these were not so continuous as to prevent our casting anchor on this coast, as we did at the end of eight

[1] Translated by Buckingham Smith.

days, which was on Sunday, the festival of Espiritu Santo.

Having fallen four or five leagues below the port, without any one of my pilots being able to tell where we were, it became necessary that I should go in the brigantines and look for it. In doing so, and in entering the mouth of the port, we were detained three days; and likewise because we had no knowledge of the passage—a bay that runs up a dozen leagues or more from the sea—we were so long delayed that I was obliged to send my Lieutenant-General, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, in the brigantines, to take possession of a town at the end of the bay. I ordered all the men and horses to be landed on a beach, whence, with great difficulty, we went on Trinity Sunday to join Vasco Porcallo. The Indians of the coast, because of some fears of us, have abandoned all the country, so that for thirty leagues not a man of them has halted.

At my arrival here I received news of there being a Christian in the possession of a Cacique, and I sent Baltazar de Gallegos, with XL men of the horse, and as many of the foot, to endeavour to get him. He found the man a day's journey from this place, with eight or ten Indians, whom he brought into my power. We rejoiced no little over him,

for he speaks the language; and although he had forgotten his own, it directly returned to him. His name is Juan Ortiz, an hidalgo, native of Sevilla.

In consequence of this occurrence, I went myself for the Cacique, and came back with him in peace. I then sent Baltazar de Gallegos, with eighty lancers, and a hundred foot-soldiers, to enter the country. He has found fields of maize, beans, and pumpkins, with other fruits, and provision in such quantity as would suffice to subsist a very large army without its knowing a want. Having been allowed, without interruption, to reach the town of a Cacique named Urripacoxit, master of the one we are in, also of many other towns, some Indians were sent to him to treat for peace. This, he writes, having been accomplished, the Cacique failed to keep certain promises, whereupon he seized about XVII persons, among whom are some of the principal men; for in this way, it appears to him, he can best secure a performance. Among those he detains are some old men of authority, as great as can be among such people, who have information of the country farther on. They say that three days' journey from where they are, going by some towns and huts, all well inhabited, and having many maize-fields, is a large town called Acuera, where

with much convenience we might winter; and that afterwards, farther on, at the distance of two days' journey, there is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that I dare not repeat all that is said. There is to be found in it a great plenty of all the things mentioned; and fowls, a multitude of turkeys, kept in pens, and herds of tame deer that are tended. What this means I do not understand, unless it be the cattle, of which we brought the knowledge with us. They say there are many trades among that people, and much intercourse, an abundance of gold and silver, and many pearls. May it please God that this may be so; for of what these Indians say I believe nothing but what I see, and must well see; although they know, and have it for a saying, that if they lie to me it will cost them their lives. This interpreter puts a new life into us, in affording the means of our understanding these people, for without him I know not what would become of us. Glory be to God, who by His goodness has directed all, so that it appears as if He had taken this enterprise in His especial keeping, that it may be for His service, as I have supplicated, and do dedicate it to Him.

I sent eighty soldiers by sea in boats, and my General by land with XL. horsemen, to fall upon a throng of some thousand Indians,

or more, whom Juan de Añasco had discovered. The General got back last night, and states that they fled from him; and although he pursued them, they could not be overtaken, for the many obstructions in the way. On our coming together we will march to join Baltazar de Gallegos, that we may go thence to pass the winter at the Ocale, where, if what is said to be true, we shall have nothing to desire. Heaven be pleased that something may come of this that shall be for the service of our Divine Master, and whereby I may be enabled to serve Your Worships, and each of you, as I desire, and is your due.

Notwithstanding my continual occupation here, I am not forgetful of the love I owe to objects at a distance; and since I may not be there in person, I believe that where you, Gentlemen, are, there is little in which my presence can be necessary. This duty weighs upon me more than every other, and for the attentions you will bestow, as befits your goodness, I shall be under great obligations. I enjoin it upon you, to make the utmost exertions to maintain the repose and well-being of the public, with the proper administration of justice, always reposing in the Licentiate, that every thing may be so done in accordance with law, that God and the King may be served, myself gratified, and every one be

content and pleased with the performance of his trust, in such a manner as you, Gentlemen, have ever considered for my honour, not less than your own, although I still feel that I have the weight thereof, and bear the responsibility.

As respects the bastion which I left begun, if labouring on it have been neglected, or perhaps discontinued, with the idea that the fabric is not now needed, you, Gentlemen, will favour me by having it finished, since every day brings change; and although no occasion should arise for its employment, the erection is provident for the well-being and safety of the town: an act that will yield me increased satisfaction, through your very noble personages.

That our Lord may guard and increase your prosperity is my wish and your deserving.

In this town and Port of Espiritu Santo, in the Province of Florida, July the IX., in the year 1539.

The servant of you, Gentlemen,

EL ADELANTADO DON HERNANDO DE SOTO.

This document, which exists in copy only, written in a firm, clear hand, is to be found in the *Archivo de Indias,* and doubtless is that which accompanied the letter of the Licentiate Bartolomé Oritz, dated at Santiago, the eighth day of Novem-

ber, 1539, addressed to the Emperor and Council of the Indias. In it he says:

"Directly as the Governor left here I fell sick in bed, and remained so three months, on which account I could not finish the bastion and bulwark he commenced. * * * It may be a month since the Governor of this Island wrote from the Port of Espiritu Santo to the Board of this City, stating his arrival in Florida, and its occurrences, a copy of which I send. He strongly urges the completion of the bastion at this port, but the magistrates oppose it; and, contrary to my commands, have ordered the assessment to cease, which is necessary for this purpose, and the following up of the wild Indians. * * *"

Notwithstanding the character in which the letter of the Adelantado is copied, the transcript seems to be faulty in omissions, and affords several evident mistakes of words.

LIFE OF DE SOTO

LIFE OF DE SOTO

BY BUCKINGHAM SMITH

HERNANDO DE SOTO, whose name is conspicuous among the early enterprises of discovery and conquest in both American continents, was born at Xeréz, in the Province of Estremadura. He was of good origin; his blood what is called noble in Spain, and so derived from the four quarterings of ancestry. In his early youth, probably in Sevilla, at the time the splendid armament was prepared at the royal cost that conveyed Pedrárias to Castilla del Oro, Soto joined the Governor, as one, perhaps, of the fifteen hundred men whom he conducted. In the year 1514 he arrived at Nombre de Dios, a little while after Balboa, looking from Panamá, made discovery of the South Sea, which Magallanes afterwards called Pacifico.

Soto, under Francisco Hernandez de Córdova, was one of the first settlers of what was afterwards known as Leon in Nicaragua. He was early sent to drive Gil Gonzalez Dávila from that territory; but he being still young, and with little military experience, Dávila, under pretext of treating, rose upon him at daylight. Although his men made brave resistance, they were overcome by a much feebler force, losing a large amount of gold with their arms. The danger of keeping so many prisoners induced the victor to set them at liberty at the

end of three days, restoring their property, having first made sure of their peaceful return to Leon.

Subsequently, Francisco Hernandez, finding a large number of men unemployed about him, and an abundance of every material for his design, strove to bring about a revolt, intending afterward to ask of the King the government of the country. For having opposed the measure, with a dozen others, Soto was seized and sent to the fort at Granada. With nine men, the Captain Compañon went to his relief; and, having liberated him, took the field, armed and on horseback, where he awaited Hernandez, who, although he had sixty men, would not venture a conflict, knowing that his person would be sought out over every other. Not long afterwards, Pedrárias captured his ambitious lieutenant and beheaded him.

Towards the year 1524, Hernando de Soto, Francisco Compañon, and Hernan Ponçe de Leon resided in the same town, associates in all that they possessed. They were wealthy, and in the respectability of their standing were equal, as also in their rank in life. Having good apportionments of Indians, they employed them profitably as herdsmen, and in gathering gold. Of Compañon we hear little. He died early; and in the will of Soto, made many years afterward, a number of masses are ordered to be said for the repose of the soul of that Captain.

Such are some of the brief and scattered notices found in the old books respecting the early days of the future Adelantado of Florida. The incidents are blended with the subjugation and settlement of Central America, as the history of his later years is inseparably connected with that of the conquest of Peru.

While Pedrárias governed Castilla del Oro, he transferred the capital of the Province across the Isthmus, from Darien to Panamá, on the ocean which, in the year 1513, his predecessor had beheld. From this point, in the course of years, small expeditions were fitted out by the colonists, to go southward by sea for traffic, and on discoveries. Andagoya was another explorer; and, in 1524, Pizarro followed the coast, in sight of the Andes, to the ninth degree of latitude south of the equator. The result of these enterprises was the evidence of the existence of the precious metals in large amount among the natives, and of emeralds, with the knowledge of an extensive, populous, and opulent Indian empire.

Pizarro, supplied with means by the friends who had before assisted him, taking with him the portion of gold that belonged of right to the crown, with specimens of the cotton and fabrics of the region which he had visited, as also of the jewels, plumes, and people of Tumbez, went to Spain to ask for the government of that country. While absent, in the year 1529, his friends, fearing that the enterprise might be taken in hand by Pedrárias, applied to three of the richest citizens of Leon to take part in it with Pizarro and his companions, Luque and Almargo; and they received the word of Hernan Ponçe that either he, Soto, or Compañon would come to Panamá for that purpose, and there await the arrival of their leader.

Pizarro returned, bringing with him four brothers, born, like himself, out of wedlock, and one, Hernando, legitimate. Luque and Almagro, who had found the means and given him their assistance (the former as the agent of a silent partner) were not pleased with the addition to their num-

bers of this kindred of the new Adelantado, although for Luque, who was of the Church, a bishopric had been provided. Almagro remained inactive until Pizarro promised to assist him to a government as extensive as the one conceded, when the territory should be won, and that the treasure, slaves, and effects of every nature, acquired by him, should be shared among the three; and that nothing should be asked of the King in behalf of the brothers until the fulfilment of these stipulations. At this juncture, Ponçe arrived with two cargoes of slaves. The vessels were added to the common stock on condition of paying their charter, the bestowal on Ponçe of one of the largest apportionments of Indians that should be made, and appointing Soto to be captain of troops, and governor of the principal place the invaders might occupy.

One hundred and eighty-five capable men embarked, with thirty-seven horses, the men bearing bucklers made of the staves of wine-barrels, almost impenetrable to either dart or arrow. Almagro remained to collect and bring away any other forces that might arrive. After a few days' navigation the Spaniards landed, and despoiled the unsuspecting inhabitants of Quaque of twenty thousand *pesos'* worth of gold and a large amount of precious stones. The vessels were immediately sent to take back the news and bring more men and horses.

The troops remained in quiet seven months, scourged by a sharp and novel disease. At that time a vessel arrived with some additional strength, when, relying upon the promise of soon receiving more, the army was put in motion. The Indians, alas! soon began to have a different impression of the white men from that before received; they were now discovered to be neither good nor averse

to robbery; but false, cruel, and destructive. The object was to reach Tumbez; but the invader had little idea of the vast forces that the contending brothers, Guascar and Atahualpa, Princes of Peru, had marshalled, though, fortunately for him, in view of each other they regarded his arrival as a matter too trivial for present thought.

On the mainland near the Island of Puná, where the Spaniards lived for a long while, the force was joined by Belalcázar, with a company of thirty men and twelve horses; and in the year 1531, Hernando de Soto arrived with two ships, bringing infantry and cavalry. The original force, which had been wasting away by a strange malady, being thus strengthened, the Commander, believing that the people of Tumbez were sufficiently gratified by the outrages they had been allowed to commit on those of Puná to give his men a friendly reception, determined to remove to the main. Opportunely a note was found in the hands of one of the Indians of that city, written by a Castilian left there on the occasion of its discovery, which ran: "Ye who shall come to this land, know that there are more gold and silver in it than there is iron in Biscaya." The greater part of the soldiery, however, only laughed at the paper, as a device to give them encouragement.

The Spaniards were astonished at the ruin of the city, wrought by war with Puná, and, it was said, by pest; but the sorest disappointment was felt by those from Nicaragua, who thought they had exchanged a paradise for disease and desolation. Some Indians, seeking to save their property, drew near to the strangers, and in conversation spoke of Cuzco, Vilcas, Pachacmac; of edifices having ceilings of gold and silver plate—news ordered

to be immediately spread throughout the camp. Not to remain in idleness, the troops ranged the arid country in the hot sun; discovered a river in a green vale, over which passed the great highway of the Incas; and visited a royal caravansera, where they drank from the cool waters.

Cautious in advancing the next step, only after consultation with the officers was it resolved to make reconnoissance about the skirts of the mountains, where were said to be masses of population, and, if possible, to find Chillemasa, the lord of Tumbez. This duty being intrusted to Soto, he directly set about to perform it, with a company of sixty cavalry and a small body of foot. Shortly after, Juan de la Torre came back, saying that he had fled from the Captain, who proposed to mutiny with that troop, and return upon Quito. The Commander passed over the intelligence delicately, and Soto, having proceeded with his guides as far as Caxas, came back. He spoke of having seen large edifices, and numerous flocks of the sheep and camels of the country. Among the articles of plunder that were displayed, the soldiers were particularly pleased with some tablets of fine gold. A portion of the royal road of the Inca Guaynacapa, for its grandeur, had awakened the highest admiration. The inhabitants, astonished that these people should venture so far away from their companions, united for their destruction; but coming hand to hand, many of the Indians were left dead, while they did little injury.

The people, at hearing the report from Soto, were delighted, and began to receive with less distrust the story the Indians had told of the magnificence of Cuzco, in which the great lord held his court and was served from urns and beakers of gold;

where the country was productive and populous; the fanes lined with the precious metals—a tale they had before attributed to the fancy only of their General. Still, there were those who did not believe in the reality of such riches; and Francisco Ysaga is recorded as one who gave his steed to procure releasement from the service. Nor should we smile at the incredulity of what might have been a swine-herd of the *dehesas* of Estremadura; since, a few years earlier, in the reign of Ysabel, the sacred mass-bells were of bronze, and the sceptre of Castilla, which waved Colón westward, to throw open the portals of the Ocean, was light, and only silver-gilded. The prisoners brought by Soto were questioned, and the objects of spoil being carefully considered, it was thought best to establish on the spot a permanent foothold. This, formed of invalid soldiers, was the town of San Miguel, which became firmly seated at the junction of several rivers, in the broad and fertile vale of Piúra.

Hernando de Soto now went forward with a troop of horsemen, to observe the passing of Atahualpa, who, with a large force, was rumoured to be marching from Quito to Caxamalca, to oppose his brother, advancing from Cuzco. The army was found to be very large, and the Spaniards, at sight of it, quailed in view of the poverty of their numbers. Atahualpa, on the other side, having heard about the invaders, through the stories in circulation, sent a lord to see what people they might be. Wheresoever this emissary went, the Spaniards were supplied with subsistence from that moment less willingly than before. Having attired himself in the costume of a countryman, he set out to visit the camp. With a basket of guavas as a gift,

he presented himself before the Chief, to excuse the Cacique of Mayabelica for having failed in rendering him obedience; but Pizarro, displeased, cuffed the *Orejon,* who thereupon returned to the Prince, speaking disparagingly of what he had discovered. He said the intruders scarcely numbered two hundred men, were the wash of the sea, had beards, were thieves, and went about carried on a kind of sheep, like that of Callao. After hearing this statement, Atahualpa gave himself no more concern about the strange people.

While the invaders paused to make the new settlement, information was diligently sought concerning the political difficulties of Peru, the customs of the inhabitants, their arms, manner of fighting, and their military force. The treasure in hand having been divided, the General borrowed of his friends and sent a large sum to Almagro, renewing to him the assurances of good faith, and urging that the forces at his disposal should be sent; for he had suspected that it was the desire of his companion to push his own fortunes at a distance, and Pizarro stood in need of his liberality, energy, and promptitude.

In September, 1532, the troop took its departure from San Miguel, in quest of Atahualpa—who, having proved successful in repeated battles over the forces of the legitimate heir of the crimson *borla,* held him pent up in Cuzco—and, on the third day, it stopped in the valley of Piúra, to learn more particulars, and make further preparations. The entire force now consisted of only sixty-seven cavalry, with a hundred and ten infantry having swords and bucklers, some with crossbows, and three or four bearing fire-arms. The crossbow-men, numbering twenty, were placed apart, under an officer.

The Commander now boldly proclaimed that if there were any who would go back they might return to the town, where servants would be allotted them to labour, the same as had been provided for others who remained there; for the fame of the Indian strength had alarmed the timid, and it was desirable to have those only who were willing to go forward, trusting more to the valour of a few than the show of many.

Thus provided, the army began its march, the boldness of the leader well sustained by the courage of his companions. The way was found to be open and undefended, left so purposely, it was supposed, to allow them to march as far as they would from support. Words of peace and greeting were continually received, with gifts from Atahualpa. A message was returned, to say that the Spaniards were marching to his assistance, and to make known to him from the Vicar of Christ, and from the great temporal prince, the King of Castilla and Leon, that there is a God in heaven and an earth.

After many days, the Spaniards arrived where from the direct road to Chincha one forks to Caxamalca, which was chosen, though less favourable than the other to movement, and where there were natural defences. The men were told that the success of the enterprise was dependent on action; to keep the other road, where they should be lost in time and place, was not the way to their object; and that, after all, men have to die, with this difference, that some leave a name to be famous, while others are forgotten. Stimulated by this address, and reminded that in such a cause, when the Holy Faith is to be planted, Christians should look for divine assistance, the soldiers declared their wish

to be led, and that, when the occasion should present itself, they would be mindful of their duty.

After a journey through vales at the foot of the ridge, the troops were allowed to rest a day before ascending. Forty cavalry and sixty infantry were selected with which to advance, intrusted to the experience of guides, leaving the rest in charge of the luggage. The way was steep and difficult. Fortifications were passed, and places that might have been favourably held stood vacant. The war between the brothers alone seemed to awaken interest and occupy the attention.

After several days' march, through a region cold from elevation, in the beginning of the year 1533, Caxamalca being at hand, the force was drawn up in three divisions. The place the Inca occupied was exactly ascertained, as well as the strength and position of his troops. On the evening of the 14th of November, the Spaniards entered the town, but found it nearly uninhabited. In the midst of a great plaza, within a triangular wall, were only some women in houses, who gave utterance to their sympathy for the fate that to them appeared to await the strangers. Nothing anywhere presented a welcome, or bore a friendly aspect.

A messenger sent to Atahualpa did not return; and it was thought proper that his army should at once be scrutinized. Hernando de Soto, in the character of ambassador, went, attended by fifteen horsemen, to gain the presence of the great monarch, and ask a grant of leave for the General to appear before him, and deliver the words sent by the King. From a tower the Indian tents were seen extending the distance of more than a league, that of the Prince rising in the midst.

At this time Hernando de Soto was in about the thirty-third year of his age. In person he was of moderate size, with breeding and manner becoming his condition. A fine equestrian, he was also skilled in the use of arms. Passing along on his charger, he leaped the banks of a water-course, and amid an astonished multitude rode up to where the army lay. In number it was estimated at thirty thousand strong—the divisions composed of archers, slingers, lancers, and mace-men. He reached the royal tent, and, his presence being announced, the chief inmates appeared. Atahualpa, accompanied by a retinue, sat on a rich stool, the imperial tassel decorating his forehead. In a low voice, with eyes fixed on the ground, he required that the Christian should be asked his purpose. He was told that the General of the white men had sent him salutations, and an invitation to sup with him in Caxamalca, or, if that could not be, then to dine the next day. The Inca bade him take back the royal thanks, and promised to come the next day: he afterwards added that he should be attended by his army, but that it need excite no apprehension. At this moment, Hernan Pizarro coming up with an equal number of horsemen, hearing what was said, made obeisance to the Inca. He declared that his Highness would be very welcome, even though he should bring his men armed, for nothing so delighted Spaniards as military spectacles. Atahualpa, understanding this person to be the brother of the General, raised his eyes and said, that from the banks of the Turicara the *Curaca* had sent him an iron collar, with word that, for the ill-treatment the Caciques had received from the white men, he had killed three of their number and a horse. Pizarro denied the charge, called Mayabelica a

great knave, and declared that, even though the Chiefs had been treated badly, the people there were as so many turkeys, and all on those plains were not enough to take the life of a single horse. The conversation having ceased, beautiful women handed drink of maize to the Prince and strangers, in golden cups. Soto, remounting with *donaire,* coursed his steed in the royal presence. He skirmished, he charged, wheeled, curvetted, and, returning, halted so nigh to the royal stool, that Atahualpa felt the impatient blast of the nostrils of the beast, and the heat of his strength; still the native remained as composed as though he were accustomed to such pastime. Calling to him some people who had fled, he reproved their timidity, telling them that in the country whence those animals came, they were like the sheep in Peru. The time, until the morning, was spent on both sides in watchfulness and care. The captains visited the guards, the soldiers made every thing ready, and passed words of encouragement. Indian priests offered sacrifices, uttering supplications in their temples to the Sun. A squadron of men, apt in the use of the *laso,* were added to the warriors.

The next day Atahualpa, in slow and imposing procession, marched up to where the impatient Spaniards were expecting him within the walls; and thence he sent word to their commander to tie his horses and bloodhounds, or otherwise he should come no farther. With a body of eight thousand men, he shortly afterward entered the plaza, in the middle of which Pizarro awaited him, having fifteen chosen men, armed with sword and buckler. The Friar Valverde went forward, exhorting the Inca to peace. He held up a cross and presented a Bible, in which he said the commands of God

were inscribed. The Prince took the book, turned it over, examined the leaves, and cast it aside, telling the friar to bring back the treasure and the thousand things of which the inhabitants had been robbed.

At this moment a shout arose from the warriors, which was followed by the beating of drums; Pizarro then waved a white shawl, the signal preconcerted for action. Thereupon Captain Pedro de Candia caused a gun to be fired, and directly began the discharge of the arquebuses, followed by the blast of trumpets and roll of kettle-drums, carrying consternation and fearful panic among the native host. The charge of horse succeeded. Detached bodies, issuing from several directions where they had been concealed, were led upon the defenceless squadrons by Hernan Pizarro and Soto; while the infantry, under Belalcázar and Mena, joining in the war-cry of "Santiago," attacked them with sword and crossbow. The General approached the litter, and, with his band, struck down the bearers; these were directly replaced, and they again by others, who took successively the posts of the fallen; first one and then another soldier rushed upon Atahualpa, till Pizarro interposed for his safety. Two thousand Indians were slain within a brief period, of time, no one pretending to offer resistance. The spoil was immense. Jars of silver, jewels of gold, and rich stuffs, strewed the ground. Many *Curacas* were killed about the royal litter; many princesses and priestesses were taken, as well as the wives of nobles.

The Inca, pondering upon the mutations of fortune, observed that within a day, as it were, he was a victor over Guascar, and himself was vanquished. Seeking to extricate himself from present troubles,

the unhappy Prince appeared only to have fallen lower in misfortune. He reckoned on the avarice of the white man, but had not calculated his possible perfidy. Thinking to regain his liberty at a price so etxraordinary that when named the payment was considered impossible, he secretly ordered his brother to be drowned in the River Andamarca, incited to this course, not unlikely, by the policy of Pizarro. The room, nevertheless, which was the measure of the purchase-money, was duly filled from the gold and silver of Cuzco, of its temples, *guacas,* or receptacles of deceased kings, and from the oratories. The Inca, notwithstanding, was still detained. In the mean time, Almagro, who had been made field-marshal by royal commission, approached the city, and after being greeted on the road by his old comrade, who came out to meet him, he went directly to call upon the prisoner.

The treasure did not long remain undivided. In the allotment, Almagro probably shared with Pizarro according to their agreement; the Lieutenant-General, Hernan Pizarro, took the second portion in magnitude, and Soto the third, in amount twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty-two *pesos,* each of the value of an ounce of pure silver.

About this time there were rumours of a purpose on the part of the Inca to bring war upon the Christians. They appear, however, to have had no better foundation than the tales of the servants and the apprehensions of timidity, if they were not altogether produced by the Adelantado, in seeking a pretext to place the succession to the *borla* in question, by the failure of both pretenders to the empire. Taking occasion of the absence of Hernan Pizarro on a mission to Spain, Soto and Guevara, with some others, were sent to ascertain the truth of the report,

that an army was to be found at a distant point; but before they could get back to make known the falsity of the news, which had before been suspected, Atahualpa, on a variety of charges, and with the sanction of the Dominican Valverde, was beheaded. The officers, on their arrival, reproached the Chief for the wantonness and excess of the action. Some had sought the society of the Prince, being interested in him through his admirable conversation, in which they discovered a strong understanding and an acute intellect. In those personages he might have found friends. Soto, whom the Adelantado had just before made lieutenant-general, was one of the gentlemen who had most pleased the captive, having at times, with chess and dice, relieved some of his heavy hours.

With the death of the two Princes, government was suspended, and society became entirely disorganized. Distant Provinces and late territorial accessions withdrew their allegiance: old lords regained their possessions, or new masters usurped them. Law was at an end. Life was nowhere safe for the Indian: the highways became infested with thieves, as the mountains with robbers. The downfall of the extensive monarchy was complete. It had lasted, from its rise, according to some computations, nearly four centuries; but the perfection and extent of the public works on the soil attest for its civilization a much higher antiquity. In extent, along the sea, it measured from nigh the equator, southward, a distance of about thirty-five degrees of coast. One of kin, on the side of Guascar, was permitted to receive the crimson tassel.

The Spaniards, having tarried seven months in Caxamalca, advanced towards Cuzco with the newly appointed sovereign, Almagro conducting the

vanguard. As they passed through Yanamarca, there lay the unburied corses of three thousand men, slain in a contest between the native factions. Approaching the beautiful valley of Xuaca, the Marshal was directed to advance with Soto and other officers. After traversing some distance they met a large body of Indians, who bade them begone from their country, and charged them with the murder of their King. The stream was crossed, the Indians dispersed, and the Spaniards, weary of killing, returned to find that Pizarro had arrived. Provisions, deposits of fine cloth, and a large amount of gold in a temple, were the booty.

Belalcázar had been sent to command in San Miguel. Finding himself with considerable force from Panamá, he became ambitious to go back to make the conquest of Quito. A rumour prevailed that the Indians to the north were preparing an independency; and this, joined to the news brought by the late comers, that the Adelantado of Guatemala was making ready to subdue the Provinces of Quito, was enough to satisfy any scruples that might exist in the conscience of a *conquistador* as to what should be his proper course in the face of such temptation; so that when importuned to undertake the adventure, Belalcázar found no difficulty in acceding to the desire of his men, who believed the treasure of Caxamalca was as nothing compared with that of Quito, where the Court once had been held. One hundred and fifty well-appointed infantry and cavalry were got in readiness to march; but, as the event proved, to contend with no other enemies than cold, hunger, and severe fatigue.

Hernando de Soto went forward from Xauxa with sixty cavalry towards Cuzco. The soldiers distrusting their abilities to cope with the Indians

in sight, and the Captain, who was considered to be a man of no less judgment than courage, finding himself surrounded, addressed his men. He declared their only safety to be in giving battle; that their enemies were preparing, counting the strength they should meet, and increasing their numbers every hour. The Spaniards had hitherto met the inhabitants of the plains: these people were the Ayllos, living on the first ascent to the mountains. They appeared along the heights in masses, with clubs, darts, and slings, swearing by the Sun and the Earth to destroy this band of robbers, or to die themselves. Soto went foremost into action, the Indians, with yells, holding the ground with desperate firmness. Five Christians were slain outright, and two horses. The Captain, with one other, fought his way toward the eminences. Some who fell in the passage-way impeded the ascent of the rest, until two, having dismounted, placed themselves one on either side for defence, thus enabling others to get by. With these succours, the first that passed returned to assist those advancing; when the Indians, weary of the contest, drew off to a little distance, and the Spaniards betook themselves to the margin of a brook at hand. Eleven men and fourteen horses were injured. That night Almagro reached the pass, and, sounding a trumpet, was answered from Soto. In the morning the forces united, and easily scattered the natives. This rencontre appears to have been the severest the Spaniards experienced in the subjugation of the Incas.

In the year 1534, Pedro de Alvarado, having ships in readiness on the Pacific coast of Guatemala to go on discoveries in the west, according to the royal permission, hearing of the wealth of Quito,

and considering it not within the limits of country assigned to Pizarro, directed his ambitious course thither by sea, with five hundred soldiers, of whom nearly the half were mounted. Among those he brought in his company was Captain Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, the same personage who some years later, on the death of Soto, successfully conducted the retreat of his followers down the Mississippi to the shores of Mexico.

Alvarado, having arrived with his army on the coast of Peru, near the equator, marched into the interior. For a time he met no serious interruption. Towns of importance were surprised, and large quantities of gold procured from them. In ascending the Andes, the severity of the weather caused the loss of eighty-three soldiers: many negroes and natives of Guatemala likewise perished by the way. Three and four thousand *pesos* were given at first for a horse; but the treasure itself was at last abandoned among the snows, with armour, and the victims of the elements. The mountains, nevertheless, were pierced, and the Adelantado halted not far from the River Bamba.

While Alvarado thus contended with hunger and cold, toiling along the rugged ascent to Quito, Pizarro was approaching Cuzco. Having overtaken Almagro and Soto, he sent them forward to meet a force reported to be advancing. It was encountered, and soon dispersed. Mango Inca, who had been raised by the natives in those parts to be their sovereign, finding no escape, delivered himself in state to the victors. The pillage of the city took place before the arrival of the Spaniards. When Soto entered Cuzco the Temple of the Sun had been rifled, and valuables to an immense amount carried away. Nevertheless, the plate remaining

was considerable. Other things than the precious metals were now neglected; from their abundance losing all esteem in the eyes of the conquerors. Even silver, for the time, appeared to be unimportant. Soto had already shodden with it the horses of his troops. Of the precious stones, they who wished took what most pleased them.

Wild was the lament of the people on the occupation of their city by the strangers. Thousands bemoaned the loss of friends and homes, crying out to their gods, and cursing the dissension of Guascar and Atahualpa, who had brought desecration to their temples, and laid waste their most cherished possessions.

The news of the arrival and march of Alvarado having come to the knowledge of Almagro, he determined at once to oppose him. He sent word to Pizarro of what was passing, and then set out for San Miguel. Finding Belalcázar gone, there were not wanting those to intimate distrust of him—that he had marched to unite with Alvarado. The resolution of the Marshal was to follow on; and he came to Quito directly after the arrival of Belalcázar, while he was yet fruitlessly searching for treasure. Having tenderly chided the Captain for leaving his post, with a part of his well-disciplined soldiery he went to look for Alvarado, and found him near the Rio Bamba.

The fading fortunes of the Adelantado of Guatemala were too manifest for him to put them at issue even with the feebler force of Almagro, whose possession already of Quito, and his well-known liberality, were more than a match for the strength of his adversary. Several days of conference ensued, in which the Marshal insisted upon nothing less than an abandonment of the expedition, and the

return of Alvarado whence he came. This was finally assented to on the part of Moscoso and Cladera, with the condition that one hundred and twenty thousand castellanos should be paid to the Adelantado, in recompense for the ships, outfit, and men to be left,—terms to which Almagro acceded.

Pizarro was well pleased with the treaty; but some unquiet spirits sought to awaken distrust of Almagro in his mind, with fears of the consequences of the friendship said to exist between him and Alvarado, that had for its object to unseat him in his government. From this time begin the factions and conflicts of the Pizarros and Almagros. Some of the best minded of their companions sought to restrain them, but only with occasional or momentary success. The conduct of the brothers of Pizarro was found insufferable to many, and the arrogance of Hernando was regarded to be as lofty as his aspirations. Soto prominently attempted to quiet the gathering storm, and, failing of success, prepared to remove from the scene.

Almagro made ready to accomplish the conquest of Chili, and Soto had the promise of the post of lieutenant-general; but, dissatisfied, he withdrew at length from the enterprise. This being the condition of affairs, in the year 1535, some gentlemen and soldiers, finding themselves in good circumstances of wealth, thought to fix a limit to their desires and return to their native land, warned by the rising passions among the conquerors. The love of riches, having been satisfied, was giving way of ambition of rule; and the Indian *borla*, now torn in fragments, no longer held them in brotherhood, as before, for safety, wealth, and renown.

In Spain Soto appears to have resided in Xeréz,

and at court, probably, he met the widow of Pedrárias, with whom he had been acquainted in Nicaragua, first cousin to the celebrated Marchioness of Moya, lady of honour and life-long favourite of Ysabel of Castilla. With her he contracted for espousals with her daughter, named, after her, Ysabel de Bobadilla, and sent her in marriage-pledge six thousand ducats. He became a knight of the Order of Santiago. Being now in the vigour of life, he sought for a government beyond sea. His first desire was to obtain one over the country extending from Panamá to San Miguel; though he deemed that the most sterile and unprofitable territory in the New World, yet he supposed the unknown region lying to the east of Quito—the country of Canela—might be made available; and if that concession could not be secured, then he desired to have the *Adelantamiento* of Nicaragua, with the privilege of sailing west towards the Spice Islands of the South Sea, and the right to one-tenth of whatever he should discover in that direction, at his own cost.

About this time, the news of the utter loss of the armament which set out to conquer Florida having arrived, Soto obtained the grant of that country, from the River Palmas eastwardly to the "Island of Florida," once ceded to Narvaez, with the Tierra-Nueva adjoining it on the ocean, before conferred on Ayllón, having no specific limit to the northward, but geographically bounded by the Land of Estevan Gomez. Within four years from the time of landing in the country, he was to receive two hundred leagues of shore, to be selected by him from what he might conquer and colonize, where he should be Governor and Captain-General, with the dignity of Adelantado for life, and High-Sheriff

in perpetuity to his heirs. Within that territory he had the right to select twelve leagues square by the sea for his possession. Fifty negro slaves, of which one-third should be female, were permitted to be taken to Cuba, and, also by him, other fifty to Florida. If a king or cacique should be taken, the Adelantado was to receive one-seventh part from his ransom and the spoil of his goods; but if he should be killed in any manner, either before or after capture, the King should receive one-half, after deducting the fifth due to the Crown. These terms appear to have been imposed to restrain atrocities such as were committed by the conquerors on the native sovereigns of México, Mechoacán, and Perú.

The better to command and afford whatever might be necessary in the progress of this great undertaking, Soto was made Governor of Cuba during the pleasure of the sovereign. In consequence, he subsequently took up stock-farms on the Island, whence to draw supplies, whether as invader or colonist—a feature in the plan of subjugation laid down with breadth to be carried out by the suggestions of experience, sustained by the General's individual resources.

It is to the testament of Soto that we are to look for more of his character than can be learned from those who have written rather of his actions than of his mind, or the kindliness of his heart. The endowments bespeak his pride, his piety, religious feeling, and magnificence: the bequests mark the munificence with which it was in his power to bestow. Portions were set apart for five maids of his wife, dependent on her kind favour; and from a source in perpetual rents, to be bought by amounts aloof from the hazards of his adventure, provision

is made for marrying annually three destitute orphans, daughters of persons of his line to the fifth degree, "the poorest that can be found"; and if there should be none such, then those of noble ancestry in the same condition, "the poorest in the City of Xeréz." An equal rental is bequeathed to Doña Ysabel, and, when it can no longer avail her, to the marriage yearly of other damsels, in number and under circumstances like the first. The body of his mother, his own tomb and private chapel, his friends and dependents, with the repose of souls, are provided for.

The history of the life of Hernando de Soto while in Spain, as a man of fame and fortune, as well as of his subsequent career in America, may be read in the following account of his attempted conquest.[1] The author, although a foreigner, has no more than any other writer allowed a word to fall from his pen disrespectful of the Adelantado. By him was he seen first in a position of affluence and splendour; then as he accompanied him thrice through the circle of the seasons, amid privations, anxieties, and bitter disappointment. If, in the course of that protracted march over the soil of our country, Soto should in instances be thought cruel,—as there were acts of severity he deemed necessary for "pacification," and the safety of his command,—they are not in excess of those of other captains of that age; nor must it be forgotten that the people of his country were as refined, enlightened, and humane as any of Europe. By those who knew him was he deemed brave, prudent, and magnanimous. The estate which beckoned to his ambition was in extent

[1] As originally published, this life of De Soto immediately preceded the narrative of the "Gentleman of Elvas"

a principality, the title accessory, a marquisate. These, in the prime of life, with still greater riches and wider honours than he possessed, appeared to sway temptingly towards his hand.

Such is an imperfect sketch of some of the more conspicuous passages in the life of Hernando de Soto, Captain in Nicaragua, Lieutenant-General in the conquest of Peru, Governor of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida.

THE END

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